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PREFACE

The desire for self-determination has not been confined to the political struggles of India, nor has the growing race-consciousness of the Indian people been limited to the demand for status and equality within the Empire. The armies of conquest and occupation brought with them a culture which has become part of the fabric of the nationalism that is stirring the youth of the land. From the personal friendships that arose between the Indians and the Europeans as well as from the less amicable relationships that existed in the position of ruler and ruled, there has come a subtle lesson of the right of the governed to a voice in the government. But, perhaps, more effectively has the Church been the carrier of the message of self-respect and of the right to make its own contribution to the great family of nations, to the people of India. The missionary enterprise, following closely upon the flag of conquest gave itself to humanitarian uplift in the ministration of healing and in the institutions of education. And these services touched the heart of the folk awakening a response differing from the reaction to the armies of the foreigner. The religious message of evangelism found a welcome in the outcaste stratum of India's society and a loyal allegiance to the foreigner who was interested in their advancement, resulted in the formation of a church. The paternal care which has been exercised over the membership of the church has been so effective that within the ranks of the church today the demand is being made for brotherhood. The day of paternalism is gone. The doors open to a period of brotherhood and cooperative effort in which

the church, with its contributions of East and West, steps to the fore and demands the right to express itself to the people of India in a way they can understand, or if need be, to die, as a factor in Indian life.

It is the purpose of this study to present the growing consciousness of unity and importance within the Christian Church, and the right of a larger participation in the administration of the affairs of the church, as a process of development, stimulated by the desire to be truly Indian. The right of self-expression, in terms that are national and clear to the Indian genius, in forms that are truly indigenous and bear a message of unity with the non-Christian sons of the motherland instead of separation from them, and in allegiances that make possible a participation in the national aspirations, is the insistent demand of the youth of the Indian Church. To this aspiration the term, Indianization, has been given, significant of the process of readjustments that are essential before the Christian Church shall have been recognized as truly Indian.

The process of Indianization is a step beyond Devolution, a term which is used to indicate the transfer of authority and of administration from the hands of the Mission[1] to the body in which Indians have a voice and frequently the predominant voice of control. But Devolution is generally considered to mean the handing over of existing institutions and organizations. It means the perpetuation of forms and institutions that have found

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1. In general all the foreign missionaries under appointment by a given Board within specified territorial limits are organized into a definite administrative body called a "Mission". - D. J. Fleming: Devolution in Mission Administration. p. 15

their way into India along with the foreign missionary; and this perpetuation of western ways remains a barrier to the adoption of the Christian Church as truly Indian. It is this feature that the youth of the Christian Church has become conscious of, and seeks to overcome in the demand for an adequate expression of the Indian genius in its religious life. Indianization is a term that represents an objective that is important, but not an ultimate goal, until the whole content of the Christian message shall have been recast in the experience of India. It is however with the former that this study is concerned, for it is considered that the question of content will follow the expression of the Christian message in Indian terms. India will battle through the issues of content as has the western world, but along lines of her own choosing.

The study is confined to South India for there are being tried the experiments of greater self-government in matters of the Church and Mission Administration as well as in the effort to give a truly Indian interpretation to the Christian forms and services. The gradual transition of power from the Mission to the Church in India through the various steps of devolution, is seen in the advance of Indian opinion as a determining factor in the administrative councils and in the councils of the Church. And from the churches of South India comes the cry for union between the Anglican and the non-conformist churches with the desire for final authority to be vested in the Church of India. And thus, except in matters where the issue is so extensive as to partake of a national character or to be related to the great nationalistic movement sweeping throughout India, the study will be confined to South India and to the life of the Christian community there.

The material has been gathered not only from books and magazines presenting various aspects of the life of India, not only from weekly papers of the Christian and of the non-Christian communities, but also from experience and observation covering a period of eight years' residence abroad, at a time when as an aftermath of the Great War nationalism was expressing itself within and without the church circles. Intimate contacts with Christians and with non-Christians have afforded many illustrations which have been incorporated, and others which have formed the background of trends indicative of the nationalistic zeal.

The treatment of the material falls naturally into a survey of the heritage of the past with the structures that have been transplanted from the west, changing under the spirit of growing nationalism; an examination of the process of Indianization as it manifests itself in the Christian community; and a word indicative of the reincorporation of the Christian community into the Indian national life. This will be presented under the following chapters:

Chapter I. South India - the Cross-road of Cultures

Chapter II. The Mission Institution
- a. The Mission
- b. The Indigenous Church

Chapter III. The Process of Devolution
- a. In Mission Administration
- b. In Ecclesiastical Authority

Chapter IV. The Demand for Self-Expression
- a. The Objective - Indianization

Chapter V. The Process of Indianization.
- a. The unifying Process of the Christian Community
- b. The Nationalizing of the Christian Community

Chapter VI. The Service of the Indianized Christian Community.

INDIANIZATION, A PROCESS IN THE CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY OF SOUTH INDIA

Tucked away in the toe of the central peninsula of Asia, South India has received the waves of disturbance and unrest that have stirred the world. By sea and by land have come the surges of human enterprise, and hers has been the first soil trampled by the sea-faring conqueror, and the last stand of the folk against the waves of immigration from a disturbed central Asia. The former came late in history, while the latter, the influences resulting from the invasions that swept down through the Khyber Pass, were softened by the distances the invaders had to travel down the peninsula, to such an extent that the harsher aspects of the conflict were lost while the more permanent factors became part of the life fabric. The most permanent result of the invasions from the north lies in the predominance of the Dravidian people in the South. Driven before the Aryan hordes as in successive waves they claimed the fertile fields of the Ganges valley, the Dravidians came southward having imbibed sufficient of the religious tenets of the invaders to give rise to a virulent Brahmanism with its social hierarchy of caste, so strong in South India, with its air of antiquity, and reverential awe.

Here flourished the kingdoms of the Pallavas during eight centuries of the Christian era and of the Cholas for the next five centuries, presenting a contrast to the disturbed conditions that prevailed in the regions of the north, and even in the territory of the Andhras, the neighbors just to the north. This permanence of control and comparative quiet afforded the development of a culture apart from the more assertive type of the other parts of India. While little is known of this culture directly from

remains and carvings that have been unearthed - a fact that may be accounted for in the climatic conditions that hasten crumbling - recent excavations promise to open a hitherto closed book of early Dravidian art, reaching back to a pre-Aryan date.[1]

But it must not be inferred that South India was not alive to the great movements that stirred other quarters of India. Through her territory passed the waves of the religion that found its birth on her territory and is now practically non-existent there - Buddhism. A neighbor, Ceylon, has maintained the memory of the son of the Motherland and frequent commercial relationships could not but have carried the influence of the Buddhistic culture. Moreover Hioun Tsang, the Chinese traveller who followed the steps of Fa Hien in the search of testimonies of the life and works of Sautama Buddha, was more fortunate than his predecessor in that he could visit for some months the kingdoms of the South.

And further what volumes bearing on the relationships between Ceylon and South India might not be written were it possible to fill in the details of the picture suggested in the Ramayana's portrayal of the battle between its hero and the forces of Langa, Ceylon! And one wonders whether the miraculous upheaving of the boulders described so dramatically in the text is not the spiritualized narrative of a feat of engineering whose physical testimony exists in "Adam's Bridge", now used as the foundation for the road bed of the South Indian Railway. And perhaps the day will

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1. Chatterji, Dr. S. K.: Dravidian Origins and the Beginnings of Indian Civilization, Modern Review, December, 1924.

ceme when the events of early South Indian history can be pieced together as closely as are the narratives of the North.

The next wave of invasion that swept into the North of India in the raids of Mahmud of Ghasni and crystallizing in the Great Moghul Empire, bridged the distances with a finger of authority in determing successions to thrones, but beyond that it was scarcely felt, although the presence of the native states of Mysore and Hyderabad today are evidence of a nominal allegiance that was demanded by the Moghul. Neverhheless the Myslim influence bears its testimony in the approximately 20% of the population[1], most converts from the lower castes, although there are a few families that trace their family trees to members of the invading bands or to later representatives from the home land.

Rising from the fall of the Great Moghul Empire, and consolidating the smaller kingdoms of the South is the important kingdom of Vijayanagar, whose sway came into contact with the expansive desires of the European powers. And in the long years of struggle that ensued this kingdom's influence was constantly felt, although the final victory that won South India for the foreigner was over the Marathas, whose ravages had weakened settled government in the south.

This brief survey of the situation in the south brings us to the period of world contacts in a more intimate way, for the European nations

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1. The Indian Year Book, 1924, pp - 305, 311

force open the doors and transfer their enmities to an Asiatic arena, playing for the loyalties of one or other native prince with the ultimate end of either a treasured commodity or a market for the industrialized society of the West. And with this new setting there enters a submerging of the Indian culture and life in the flood of the Occidental aggressive commercial life, leaving an impress that has been slowly but surely absorbed and recast by the ancient virulent indigenous life and culture. The latter process of recasting and reinterpreting the impact of the West is actually a present issue engaging the attention of India's sons. The following quotation from Mr. Ghandi's "Freedom's Battle", (pp. 137-139) is suggestive of an effort to evaluate the meeting of the two cultures:

> "The rules of caste do not permit the partaking of a common meal with those who are outside the caste. Whereas the European looks on a meal as essentially a social function, the Indian view as expressed by Mr. Ghandi is that "the idea that inter-dining and inter-marrying is necessary for national growth is a superstition borrowed from the West", and that "intermarriage and interdining are not necessary factors in friendship and unity though they are often emblems thereof."[1]

With the coming of the powers of Europe the attention of the world was fastened upon South India quite as much as upon all the rest of India put together. First came the Portuguese whose influence reached from Goa to the court of the Great Moghul. But the rivalry of Europe brought the Dutch and the English on commercial enterprises into conflict with the Portuguese, resulting in a transfer of dominant influence to the Dutch and

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1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 161

later to the English. The arrival of the French contestants and the India Company with its military posts at Pondicherry brought to a focus the great French-English struggle that gave the careers of Clive and Dupleix. The exploits of Clive in South India that paved the way for the Empire were seb in Arcot, Arni, Tangore, Trichinópoly, and Madras, the very territory where later were tried the important experiments of devolution and of cooperation in the Indian Church.

And out of this international struggle fought on the land of people who were not willing or interested combatants but for whose wealth the struggle was waged, there arose the East India Company, whose political power was recognized by the English people as paramount in India, and whose aggressive policies were backed by liberal grants. And the situation thus created was productive of racial antagonisms that have carried over into the consciousness of the present national struggle. Among these antagonisms are those that have arisen from the vastly different economic standards of living as well as from the attitude toward commodities desired or possessed; and closely allied with the foregoing is the political factor which briefly stated is the presence of a ruler whose victory was won not from the ruled but from a rival power in the west, both fighting over an issue entirely foreign to India. A third factor that may be termed the source of racial antagonism lies in the difference of civilizations, each of which is sacred to its owner but in part scorned by the other party, and as a climax to the foregoing the feelings of superiority engendered on the one hand by political and economic predominance and on the other by

the aloofness of a "more varied spirituality" that springs from the appraisal of "the other worldly".[1] These are the factors that have made the background, completed and touched with other irritating features in the succeeding years, against which the experiments of the Church are to be seen.

The next period of interest was ushered in by the transfer of the power from the East India Company to the Parliament, following the Mutiny of 1857, a turning point in racial attitudes. It was then that the Magna Charta gave hope and life to a people whose explosion of resentment nearly shook off the foreigner's grasp. The place this pronouncement holds is clearly seen in this quotation:

> "The famous declaration of Queen Victoria when she assumed the title of Empress of India in 1858, that 'no considerations of caste, creed, or nationality shall be allowed to affect the impartial treatment of the many millions of India' is their Magna Charta. It is no wonder that these noble words, born of and expressed by a noble soul, are treasured as sacred by the leaders of the people of India. The Indian Magna Charta is as sacred to the Hindu (probably means the son of India) as any promise of Jesus Christ recorded in the Bible is to the Christian."[2]

And the fact that this position has been reiterated from time to time has given the ground for the support of the British Government on the part of the moderate party of Indian Nationalists, and for the agitation for swaraj on the part of the extremists who have considered the policy of Parliament a mere time serving pronouncement that loses its value in the paucity of autonomy that is accorded the Indian people.

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1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, pp. 36-41
2. Ratnam, S. C. K.: An Oriental Study of Foreign Missions, p. 22

The feeling of unrest which made advisable the promise of reforms in Lord Minto's time, and which found its legitimate claim in the willing sacrifice for the Empire during the Great War secured some satisfaction in the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of 1919, in which the larger share of autonomy was granted to India with the corresponding promise of much greater autonomy upon the successful termination of the trial period of ten years. That this grant in self-government has been received with varying degrees of satisfaction by the different parties is no more than would be expected and J. H. Oldham makes this comment:

> "An Englishman who sets himself with the sincerest intentions to learn by reading and conversations what Indians want is quickly made aware that the greatest divergence of view exists on vital questions. He finds forms of Government ardently advocated by one section of Indian opinion which he has every reason to believe would be unacceptable to other sections of the population and which if brought into operation would in all probability be opposed by them with armed force. Deepest of divisions is the predominance of religious interests, as Mr. Ghandi has clearly recognized, over common political interests. Even unreserved sympathy with the national aspirations of the people of India cannot obscure the fact that India is on the road to nationhood but is not yet a nation."[1]

This national experience is one that has had its echo in the Christian Church. Racial lines have been drawn more tensely, and greater has been the consciousness of integrity as an organised body with the natural sequence of an insistence upon a greater voice in determining the

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Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 123

policies affecting the mission work. The following quotation will show how intimately related are political consciousness and Mission consciousness:

> "The events which led up to and culminated in the Punjab Disorders certainly gave rise to a very considerable racial antagonism, which affected the relations between the Christian missionaries and the Indian community despite the closeness with which many missionaries have identified themselves with the people of India. This tension, though not usually felt as between individual missionary and the individual Indian was yet apparent when either dealt with the other en masse. As regards religious antagonism the evidence is somewhat puzzling. But the writer is convinced that there has been a considerable increase in the antipathy of Muhammedans to Christianity and its representations - this as a result of the Khilafat agitation. There were, moreover, very clear manifestations among the Hindus during the Punjab riots of anti-missionary feeling."[1]

And against this background again stands much of the racial contact of the Indian Church. It is a situation that must be borne in mind in our advance to the general situation in the Church with its desire for a larger and more determining voice in the message of Christianity.

Of more recent date are three factors that deserve a passing comment for they have moulded the opinions of the lover of the motherland, consciously and unconsciously. The first of these factors is the Indian National Congress. The first conference was called for December 25th, to the 31st, 1885, and the objects of the conference were stated thus:

"To enable all the most earnest laborers in the cause of the

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1. Wilson, Ross: Recent Political Events in India and their Relation to Missions, p. 56

> in the cause of the nation to become personally known to each other; and to discuss and decide upon the political operations to be undertaken during the ensuing year. Indirectly this conference will form the germ of a national parliament and if properly conducted will constitute in a few years an unanswerable reply to the assertion that India is still wholly unfit for any form of representative institution."[1]

So sounded the call to the conference and the following excerpt gives an estimate of its scope and influence as seen by an Indian nationalist:

> "The Indian National Congress marks an important epoch in the history of British rule in India. Apart from the question of reforms with which it is immediately concerned it is engaged in a much wider and nobler task for which it has already laid a fairly solid foundation - the task of nation building in India after the model of modern Europe. Coming into contact with Western people and Western culture the Indian mind could not fail to expand in the direction of Western ideas and institutions. It is as impossible for one civilization, whether superior or inferior, to come into touch with another civilization without infolding its own characteristics, as it is impossible for one vessel to throw its search-light upon another without exposing its own broad outlines to the gaze of the latter. A barbarous race may become extinct: - but two civilized people coming into close contact are in spite of all differences and conservatism bound to coalesce and act and react upon each other. The superior may dominate the inferior; but it cannot transform it altogether; while the latter, however vigorously it may struggle to maintain its peculiar identity is bound gradually and even unconsciously to imbibe and assimilate either for better or for worse, some of the properties of the former."[2]

And so has been the record of the Indian National Congress. A vehicle of nationalistic expression which has been growing in recognition by both

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1. Cross, C. M. P.: The Development of Self-Government in India, 1858-1914 p. 155

2. Mazumdar, Amvika Chara: Indian National Evolution, p. 3

European and Indian, the Congress has come to be.

A second factor that has stimulated a self-consciousness within the Christian community is the organisation of the Muslim Party in 1912, seeking to bind together for communal ends their coreligionists. It has played an important role in uniting the Muslims of India during the period of the War, and also in the more recent Khalifat agitation precipitated by the rise of the heterodox Young Turk Party. The concessions made to the Muslims in the Reform Scheme is a sign of the government's recognition of a united community and thus of the work of the Muslim League.

As a corellary of the two preceding movements comes the effort toward the Hindu-Muslim unity. A quotation from Mr. Ghandi places the issue clearly:

> "What then does the Hindu-Mahommedan Unity consist in and how can it be best promoted? The answer is simple. It consists in our having a common purpose, a common goal, and common sorrows. It is best promoted by cooperating to reach a common goal, by sharing one another's sorrows and by mutual toleration. A common goal we have. We wish this great country of ours to be greater and self-governing. We have enough sorrows to share. And today seeing that the Mahommedans are deeply touched on the question of the Khalifat and their case is just, nothing can be so powerful for winning Mahommedan friendship for the Hindu as to give his whole-hearted support to the Mahommedan claim. No amount of drinking out of the same cup or dining out of the same bowl, can bind the two together as this help in the Khalifat question. And mutual toleration is a necessity for all time and for all races....All the quarrels between the Hindus and the Mahommedans have arisen from each wanting to <u>force</u> the other to his view."[1]

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1. Ghandi, M. K.: Hindu-Mahommedan Unity, Young India, February 25, 1920

And again:

> "There can be no doubt that successful non-cooperation depends as much on Hindu-Muslim Unity as on non-violence."[1]

There can be no doubt of the sincerity of Mahatma Ghandi in his insistence upon this unity as a bond of knitting the folk of India together, But the Christian community is asking why it should not be Hindu-Muslim-Christian unity, and rightly so.

The third factor in moulding a nationalistic spirit is the consciousness of the existence of a race (brown) other than the ruling white race. The victory of the yellow race represented by Japan over the white, represented by Russia, opened a new chapter in race consciousness for the folk of Asia. The vision of a new world opened before the eyes of the Asiatic, and hopes long deferred seemed to take shape. Of this F. B. Fisher wrote:

> "Since 1905 there has been an embryonic Pan-Asia which could easily assume formidable proportions. In the long succession of civilisations, this is the white man's day. Ethnologists prophesy that the next may be the brown man's."[2]

Although Mr. K. T. Paul, the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of India, in an address delivered in Chicago in 1924, said:

> "We - the people of India - were shocked that Japan had stooped to the level of the West in using force."

the fact remains that the event attracted considerable attention and was productive of an aspiration that, united with the national consciousness

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1. Ghandi, M. K.: Hindu-Muslim Unity, Young India, October 9, 1920
2. Fisher, H. B.: India's Silent Revolution, p. 1.

arising from the Indian National Congress and from the Muslim League, has spelled a new day for India.

Such are the forces that have been at play upon the thinking and reading people of India. A point has been well made by Edwyn Bevan in observing that amid these disturbances the great mass of the villagers go on about their work, year in, year out, struggling to wrest a harvest from the much tilled soil.[1] But the years of agitation have not passed without creating an atmosphere of unrest that has permeated to the most secluded village. The air of India today is surcharged with a spirit of unrest engendered largely by the recent activity of the national volunteers. So widespread and yet so quiet was this propaganda that whole districts quickened as to a magic touch and flamed in disturbing persistence, an example of which is the Moplah Rising of 1921. And this spirit of a new day for the Motherland surges everywhere.

And South India, with her larger percentages of literate population and her better educational facilities whereby the youth has been fitted for official life more largely than is the case in other sections of India, has felt the pulse beating more vigorously. Beneath the quiet surface of the daily routine, a powerful spirit is slowly gathering momentum and dignity, quietly but surely pervading the various walks of life, so that the hierarchy of Englishman, Brahman, Sudra, and Outcaste has yielded its regime to a racial consciousness and at times to a racial antipathy.

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1. Bevan, Edwyn: Indian Nationalism, p. 55

It is inevitable that the Indian Church, with its large percentage of literacy and highly educated membership, should be found in the surging tide of nationalism. With the national background, of which mention has been made, and with the peculiar relationship that it bears to a foreign element, this church presents a vital experiment in the great nationalisation process, the success of which will give to it a place of unique leadership for India, while failure will tend to estrange more vitally and completely the community from the land of its birth. The process of Indianisation within the Christian Church against the background of nationalism on the one hand, and of foreign heritage on the other, brings to a focus the possibilities of cultural fusion and of the assimilation of achievements of one race by another through the channels of revaluation and reinterpretation. The task of the Christian Church, if it is to play its part in the national life of India, is to interpret the heritages of the West that have come with the foreign missionaries, and to incorporate these elements in the national fabric of a people, whose history reaches into the millenniums, but is again awakening to present day international opportunities.

CHAPTER II

THE MISSION INSTITUTION

Closely following the western flag planted in triumph on the shores of India arrived the spiritual conquerors prepared to enter upon the fields now opened. Territorial conquest seemed to have as its corollary the planting of the symbol of the Church and the claim of the inhabitants of the land for the Christian religion. At times it took the form of a formal procedure wherein the Church would recognize the rights of a nation to new territory on condition that the Church were accorded its rights therein. This seems to have been the arrangement as designed in the Papal Bull with which the representatives of the King of Portugal entered South India in 1502. In commenting upon their work James M. Theburn writes:

> "The Portuguese adopted the policy of introducing the Christian religion among their subjects in their eastern possessions by the use of arts of various kinds, but more especially by the direct exercise of authority, and they seemed to meet with a large measure of nominal success. But the change which took place both in individuals and communities was chiefly external, and in most cases where compulsion had been used, the first opportunity for discarding the new faith was eagerly embraced.
>
> Any account of the early Roman Catholic missions in India would be very incomplete which did not assign a prominent place to the famous Jesuit apostle, Francis Xavier. The career of this extraordinary man was remarkable but his work was superficial in the extreme....He found no difficulty in collecting large audiences, armed as he

> was with royal authority, and when he went forth into the streets with a bell to summon the people to come forth to his services he never failed to meet with a prompt response."[1]

And again from the same author describing the methods of the same pioneer in missionary activity:

> "In his later days, Xavier so far yielded to the temptation to adopt sheer force in maintaining the authority of the Church and advancing his interests, that he wrote to the Pope advising that a branch of the Inquisition, then newly established in Europe, should be set up in India, and this terrible expedient was actually adopted, but not until after his death."[2]

Under circumstances such as these it requires no stretch of the imagination to surmise the attitude of the people of India. That there seemed to be an inevitable union between the State and the religion of the West was clear to all and especially forceful to those who chanced to fall beneath its sway. There is no doubt that some of the antipathy toward Christianity today may be traced to an enterprise that bore upon its crest the symbol of crushing force and cruelty.

A second contact with the Western world in missionary annals occurred in the arrival at Tranquebar on the eastern coast of South India of two Danish missionaries. While they too were backed by the protection of the Government their approach was much more successful, only to be curbed by the officials in charge of the settlement, thus presenting a drama of tragic differences between profession and practice in representatives of a foreign

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1. Thoburn, J. M.: The Christian Conquest of India, p. 153
2. Ibid. p. 154

power.[1] And thus was introduced a second chapter in the contact of the Orient with the Occidental cultures: a chapter that told of divergent standards and interests coming into serious conflict. The effect of such a display could easily be imagined as one thinks of the Oriental classifying all the Westerners in one category, either as bearers of armed force, in which case the efficacy of the message of goodwill would be discounted; or as bearers of kindness and goodwill in which case sudden disillusionment would follow he break down the bonds of friendship and to engender hatred of the bitterest sort. And both of the results did follow.

There sprang up a third type of missionary enterprise which President Coolidge characterizes as one of the most Christian things in organized Christianity:

> "It is this spirit which from the beginning gave to the Gospel of Christ its power over the hearts of men. For it is the essence of Christian ethics and spirituality that those who have once felt their full inspiration are thereafter enlisted in carrying these blessings to all who need them."[2]

The spontaneous sense of responsibility for the souls of men dwelling in lands that have come under the sway of the political power of one's nation, of of a nation with which one's nation has points of approach, marks the modern period of missionary activity, and in a truer sense this spirit has been the bearer of the culture of the West. And it is to the Mission as an institution that we would turn out attention, noting its organization, its success in gaining a response on foreign soil, and the cultural heritages

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1. Thoburn, J. M.: The Christian Conquest of India, p. 136
2. President Coolidge: Address of Welcome - Foreign Mission Conference, Washington, Conference Report p. 4

that have been carried over to become a factor in the indigenous church life.

a. The Missionary Organization

"In the days when denominationalism was most pronounced and most antagonistic amongs the Christians at home, the London Missionary Society was started with the significant name of The Missionary Society, and embraced in its constituency members of various and opposed sections of the Church of Christ, whose ecclesiastical and theological differences were sufficient to keep them asunder at home, but whose conception of the nature of the missionary enterprise was such that they could and did unite in work abroad. The bond of union was the common desire to give to the heathen that rich evangelical life of whichthey were common participators. What they looked for in their missionaries was not theology but spiritual experience."[1]

With such high ideals and so true to the unity of the Church, a phrase that seems most modern in its use, started the modern era of missionary activity. Men saw the vision of rising above the pettiness of human differences to a glorious challenge - but the vision faded shortly and men were commissioned to go to the lands across the sea with a far narrower message and a more carefully guarded theological roll. The insistence of the supporting constituency in the homeland, as other societies of missionary activity sprang into existence under the stimulation of"The Missionary Society", became centered upon the promulgation of a specific category of tenets. The exclusive aspects of denominationalism entered the one great venture of the modern church that had promised unity and comity. And to the fore in the annals of the missionary activity comes the proselyter. Of him and his work Dr. Bernard Lucas speaks:

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1. Lucas, Bernard: Our Task in India, p. 18

"The dominating idea of the proselytist is the advancement of his own particular religion. To the Jew it was Israel and the glory accruing to Israel from the accessions he could bring, which dominated his propaganda. To the Christian proselytist it is the Church to which he belongs and the glory accruing to that Church. This does not of course exclude a real concern forthe welfare of the proselyte; but this welfare, both spiritual and temporal is conceived of and aimed at, through and by means of the religious organisation to which the proselytist belongs....And as a result of this conception his efforts are all directed to separate the outsider from the religious thought and feeling in which he was born and brought up, and attach him to what he makes no effort to conceal is an entirely new and foreign religion. There can in his judgment be no gain to his religion without a corresponding loss to the religion from which the proselyte comes.....Believing as he invariably does that his own religion has been finally fixed and determined for all time he insists upon the unreserved acceptance of its creed, and ritual and organisation. Without such an acceptance on the part of the proselyte, his accession might introduce heresy and schism, and from his unmitigated evil the religion must be scrupulously guarded."[1]

And likewise from modern annals comes a parallel message:

"We have also a country's obligation to proclaim the Gospel of the crucified and risen Christ to the Christless millions in India. There is a lukewarmness in preaching for an immediate verdict and for an unconditional surrender in many quarters. There is a demand from without that is met with traitorous acquiescence from within the fold of the Christian ministry in India, that we abandon our effort to proselyte from Hinduism and Islam and be content to merely proclaim the good news of the Gospel."[2]

Thus reads an excerpt from an address delivered at a Conference of one of the churches (a denominational organisation with headquarters in America but carrying on missionary work in India). And the writer of the article

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1. Lucas, Bernard: Our Task in India, pp. 7-8
2. The Christian Patriot, April 12, 1924

in the paper makes the following comment indicative of the trend of modern thought on the matter:

> "The Bishops repudiate with indignation the demand that organised proselytism should be given up and that Christian missionaries should be content to follow in the footsteps of their Master, who went about doing good. We may tell the good Bishops that they are entirely mistaken in their interpretation of this demand. Those who make it do not want that caste should be preserved and that Christianity should be simply one more caste among the many. On the contrary, it is well-known that this is what the proselytising method has resulted in at the present day.....Some of the missionaries who have understood the demand rightly and sought to meet it sympathetically are some of the finest Christian men in India at the present day. We may tell the Bishops that, whether they like it or not, they will have to give up organised proselytism sooner or later from sheer necessity."[1]

And perhaps of sighificant moment is the fact that a report of a representative group, composed of Indian Christians and missionaries who considered the question of proselytism as over against evangelism, was presented to the Madras Christian Council and finds place in the Christian Patriot.[2] It was occasioned by the discussion that arose upon "an alleged kidnapping of a Hindu young woman in circumstances of such alleged secrecy as to lead to an outburst of hostile criticism of missionary methods and motives on the part of Hindu papers". Thus the issue between the objectives of the missionary task exists as vitally as it did in the years gone by.

The following quotation places the matter in a fair setting:

> "The missionary problem in India which confronts the Church of Christ is by far the greatest task to which

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1. The Christian Patriot, April 12, 1924
2. Ibid, July 12, 1924

she had hitherto set her hand. This is due not to the extent of the field to be evangelized but to its nature; not to India's millions who need to be reached, but to India's religious mind and soul which need to be touched. The missionary problem in India presents peculiar difficulties which need special treatment, because India is a contributor and a very great contributor to the religious evolution of the race. The Hindu's religion, whatever it may be, is not something which he has obtained from outside but something which he has developed from within. It is as much a part of him as his brain and heart are a part of his physical frame. It should n never be forgotten that India has produced religions, she has never accepted them. If India's religious vitality therefore is to be improved, it can only be by means of nourishment adapted to its religious constitution which it can absorb and assimilate not by any surgical operation which is dangerous if not fatal, to the life which is sought to be developed. Her history shows that Proselytism pure and simple has been a failure as far as India herself is concerned. Hindus may be proselytized as indeed they have been but India never."[1]

But from the early insistence upon a specific category of tenets and certain theological dogmas there arose the Mission Organisation which is thus defined by Dr. Fleming:

> "What in the economic realm has led to the organisation of men for industry and business, has in the realm of evangelisation led to the formation of strong aggressive bodies of superintendents called "Missions" (in general all the foreign missionaries under appointment by a given Board within specified territorial limits are organised into a definite administrative body called a Mission). These by the use of western funds have employed large numbers of local agents in a way that to the growing indigenous church seems almost like an exploiting of their country for Christ."[2]

It became the organised body of transmission to the indigenous community

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1. Lucas, Bernard: Our Task in India, p. 1
2. Fleming, D. J.: Devolution in Mission Administration, p. 15

in India of the funds and of the culture of the Western constituent bodies of denominations. This then created a situation of an administrative character for there were particulars that could not be handled by the Church entire in the home land, in matters of detail in the foreign policies and necessary adjustments. This led to the creation of the Foreign Mission Boards. And the relationship thus sustained assumed this formula:

Home Church Constituency	- - - Board - - -	Mission	- - - (Indigenous (Indian (Church

[1]

And while the method of control varied with the church government of the supporting constituency this general relationship was sustained. The supporting constituency determined a policy which it instructed its Board to communicate to the organized body of its representatives on the field, the Mission, whose duty it was to carry it out, and, if needs be, to impose it upon the indigenous church. The indigenous church became so far as practice went, a colony of the home church; its ecclesiastical systems and its government having been transplanted from the home base.[2]

And under conditions such as these, the barest outline of which serves to give shape to the situation, there has developed a progressively complex organization briefly summarized in the address of the Rev. W. I. Chamberlain, in response to the Greetings of Foreign Delegates to the

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1. Baker, A. G.: Lecture on the Introduction to Missions
2. Ibid.

Foreign Mission Conference recently held in Washington:

> "It is interesting to note something of the progress of the work of the missionary societies in the United States and Canada. In 1844 when the first report was made regarding our work, the United States was credited with 900 missionaries and an income from the societies cooperating of $500,000.00. In 1900 at the time of the assembly of the Ecumenical Conference in New York, the societies of the United States and Canada were credited with 5000 missionaries and an income of approximately $7,000,000.00. In 1910 at the assembling of the World Missionary Conference in Edinburgh these North American societies that are welcoming the representatives from Europe today were credited at that time with missionaries numbering 7000 and an income of approximately $12,000,000.00. Today there is placed upon our tables a report which shows that the societies of the United States and Canada are maintaining approximately 19,000 missionaries in the mission fields of the world with an income at their disposal of more than $40,000,000.00."[1]

This certainly is a strikingly impressive figure when viewed in the aspect of so much of a Western culture being taken to meet an Oriental culture, or at least such a share of the total figure as finds its way to Oriental lands. For there is no gainsaying the fact that Occidental personnel and means carry with them a culture whose effect can be seen, to some considerable extent, in the review of the institutions that have grown upon the mission fields where such expenditure of time and money has been made. The figure represents however the value that North American place upon their contribution in men and money to carry a message

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1. Report of the Foreign Missions Conference - Washington, Rev. W. I. Chamberlain, Ph. D. p. 395

of goodwill to lands less richly blessed, and for whom the people of this continent feel a responsibility. We will not pass on to notice the responses that are made on the fields to the efforts of the Western representatives of Christianity.

b. The Indigenous Church

> "Sympathy is a requisite to social power. Only in so far as a man understands other people and thus enters into the life around him has he any effective existence; the less he has of this the more he is a mere animal, not truly in contact with human life. And if he is not in contact with it he can of course have no power over it.....A person of definite character and purpose who comprehends our way of thought is sure to exert power over us. He cannot altogether be resisted; because if he understands us he can make us understand him, through the word or the symbol, which both of us connect with the common sentiment of idea; and thus by communicating an impulse he can move the will."[1]

Professor C. H. Cooley may or may not have had in mind the realm of cultural contacts but assuredly it is a portrayal of the meeting of a culture from the west, represented in the missionary, and the culture of the east, expressed in the Indian. The missionary came with a message of friendliness and sympathy, determined to give himself to a life of service among a people whose language it was his first duty to master. He came that he might enter into as close and intimate a relationship with the folk of India as was possible and he realized that the medium of language so often a barrier between races that creates suspicions and hatreds,

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1. Cooley, C. H.: Human Nature and the Social Order, p. 140

must become his avenue of approach. The first few years of his service are therefore earnestly devoted to the acquisition of a means of decent communication. And this coupled with the wealth of the cultural benefits attendant upon the representative of the west in the form of comparative wealth, of methods of the effective control of hitherto disastrous forces such as famines, diseases, and even ostracism from the ruling bodies, opened doors for the missionary to make a real appeal to the folk of India.

But the missionary did not come as the first representative of the western culture nor did he at all times display the better side of that culture, nor make the utmost effort to disarm the suspicion that had been aroused of viewing the missionary effort as but another means for the control of the country. This, together with the fact that some of the missionaries found themselves unable to meet the better classes upon an equal footing intellectually and thereby win a respect that would warrant friendship, resulted in two different effects upon the people. The higher castes, whose social life and status was satisfactory, were suspicious and distant for they felt that the standards of the missionary meant a loss of the past, and that for them was of too great value to lose. For the outcaste, crushed beneath the weight of the whole social hierarchy, with no status and no approach to sources of justice, the coming of the friendly

and sympathetic missionary meant an opening of a new world and the presence of a real friend. He felt that which J. H. Oldham has so fittingly stated as the key to the racial situation:

> "Friendship is the key to mutual understanding between races. So long as another race remains an abstraction, its needs, its attitudes, its hardships, its wrongs, may leave me unmoved; but things look different when they belong to or happen to a friend."[1]

And the attitude of the missionary toward the needy outcaste resulted in a friendly attitude on the part of the outcaste to the missionary first, and later to his message. For in this relationship he gained self-respect, recognition amongst his fellows, and an avenue of approach to the powers that ruled, for surely his friend, the missionary, had influence with the judge or the revenue officer, or the Collector of the District who controlled the repair of the local tank or irrigation ditch.

Moreover the Christian Church made an appeal to the religious longings of the outcaste, an element that is worthy of note in passing, as indicative of the response made to the missionary and his message. Of this Bishop Whitehead speaks:

> "The Christian Church thus brings to the villagers, and especially to the Outcastes, three great truths which their belief in the village deities specially prepares them to accept:-
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> a. First the truth of the existence of an omnipotent God of infinite love, the creator of all mankind, a truth which stands out in vivid and startling contrast to their belief in a multitude of evil or ill-tempered spirits always ready to

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1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 253

do them harm, with no superior power to control them.

b. Second, the truth of the universal redemption from sin and the great gift of direct personal access to an almighty, all-loving God through Jesus Christ. This truth stands in equally striking contrast to the poor and miserable communion with a petty local deity offered through the blood of their animal sacrifices.

c. And thirdly, there is the great truth of the equality of all men in God's sight and the universal brotherhood of man. It is a truth very dimly foreshadowed in the rites of their primitive cult; but in the Christian Church it stands out as the very essence of the Gospel message. And it is a message that makes a powerful appeal to the hearts of the downtrodden and depressed."[1]

It was but a normal consequence of the appeal of a culture that offered satisfactions of manhood, of status for the family, and of relief from the endless appeasing of a perchance outraged deity, that especially from among the outcastes there should have been a ready response. But especially pointed was their response when the facilities for the education of their children, and that in the lore of the west, was offered. "For

"Whatever dislike and disapprobation may be expressed concerning the creed, social life, and exclusiveness of the ruling Anglo-Saxon mass, there is something in the life of the foreigner which to the native is at once the object of admiration and a voluntarily accepted problem for solution. It is the daily life and mode of living indicated by the words, "higher civilization"....Thus there is among the natives a ceaseless longing to improve their temporal condition".[2]

And when this opportunity was accorded to have their children seated in the same school with children of other castes and to study the same culture,

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1. Bishop Whitehead: The Village Gods of South India, p. 158
2. Ratnam, S. C. K.: An Oriental Study of Foreign Missions, p. 26

the thermometer of their self-respect rose. It required but small urging to have large numbers accept the ready road to a higher life.

And closely aligned with these opportunities there were the chances for employment for their children. The influence of the missionary with the ruling classes would aid in securing government posts, and furthermore teachers were needed in the mission schools and other situations among the agents employed by the mission. Thus developed a dependence upon the missionary and the mission for life itself in many instances a procedure that tended to pauperize the indigenous church. This condition of affairs is bewailed in an article appearing in the Christian Patriot, where after comparing this type of paternalism with that wherein the indigenous church assumed the position that it "should pay their own expenses, meeting all the expenditure required for home missionary work, for Christian education and for church benevolences, without receiving pecuniary aid for these purposes from foreign missionary societies", the church cited "was fostered by missionaries who took such pity on the relative poverty of the people of the country, that they did not encourage the new converts or the new churches to assume any considerable share of the financial burden even with regard to their current expenses.....The conduct of these missionaries encouraged native Christians to look upon the Christian life and church life as one of dependence upon the munificence of foreign beneficiaries. The result has been to delay the development of native leadership for the denomination, for since the sense of responsibility for economic welfare was not developed

the self-reliant and self-respecting spirit necessary to good leadership was also slow in manifesting itself.[1]

And from this situation there followed two results of extreme importance. The first of these is the complete organisation of the indigenous church along lines with which the foreigners were most conversant and which they felt certain would work. But both the church as an organization and the institution of a clergy were foreign to the genius of the people, and were thus adopted at the direction of the foreign missionaries without realising the full import of these factors that have estranged the Christian Church from their fellow-countrymen. The purse strings determined the advance and the points that were to receive emphasis and consequently the dependent factor in the indigenous church said little. If, however, that little that it did express was not in conformance with the best judgment of the controlling Mission, the ruling body and the channel of reference to the home constituency, adverse criticism and sometimes even loss of employment followed.

The second result lay in the type of control that came to be exercised as the agency of the Mission grew. From the personal, emotional, primary control as interpreted by Professor H. C. Cooley[2] the type of control passed to the more formal, impersonal, official control known as a secondary group control. This was perhaps inevitable under the greater complexity arising from increasing numbers in the agency and in the church membership.

1. Emerson, E. G.: The Christian Patriot - Foreign Missions - A minority report - September 27, 1924
2. Cooley, H. C.: Social Organisations.
   Faris, Ellsworth: Lectures on Social Control

The fact briefly stated was thus stated by an Indian when he remarked that there were now missionaries, "who knew not Joseph". And as a factor in this relationship that led to estrangements or at least distant acquaintanceships, there entered, at least for a larger number of the missionaries, the Government correspondence that became a necessity in the educational and medical departments, wherein Government supervision was demanded. This introduced a racial consciousness that the personal friendliness and interest had been able to submerge. J. H. Oldham speaks of this in this way:

> "The true life of a man is that of a person in relation with other persons. One of the greatest evils from which we suffer today is that modern society with its increasing organization, its impersonal methods of dealing with men in the mass, and its substitution of the relations of groups with groups for those of individuals with individuals is tending to make life mechanical and rob us of our humanity.. The courtesy produced by natural feeling disappears and in its place, comes a behavior which shows entire indifference, even though it is decked out more or less in a code of manners....This dehumanizing of human life is especially marked in the relations between different races. The individual becomes merged and entirely lost in the mass....If we wish to live in the world as Christians and to create the conditions of true citizenship we must learn as men to enter into relations with men."[1]

This survey of the relationships between the Westerner and the Indian brings us to the consideration of the western heritages which were transferred to the Church itself. These are factors which bear upon their very surfaces the impress of the more powerful culture and are the marks by which the Christians of India are known. They are the features that have marked the Christian community as separate from the Hindu not only,

1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 218

but as separated from the Indian national life, and standing thus in contrast to the Muslim which while separate from the Hindu, is yet accorded the fellowship of nationalism.

The discussion has been and will be limited to the indigenous churches as established in the modern era of missionary enterprise. However, one of the outstanding features of the Syrian Church whose annals reach back into the fourth century, is its non-Indian form of government and its present exclusiveness, even toward members of other Christian bodies. It would present a separate study in itself for there appear to be evidences of a long struggle at pesservation and purity which has created the very attitude mentioned above, yet producing within the community a most excellent type of virile life and character. Only recently have there arisen indications of a stirring within the church for a greater comity with the other Christian bodies. The more progressive youth of the church having come into close intimacy with the Christians of other bodies at the colleges and in the student camps, are pressing the matter of negotiations toward intercommunion and affiliation with the larger body of Christians in South India. And such a union would be very acceptable to the majority of the bodies now working in adjoining areas. It was, however, considered wise to omit the discussion of the position of the Syrian Church for it too is viewed by the non-Christians as not Indian, but as a separate order residing in India.

c. The Western Heritages of the Indian Church.

Reference has already been made to the nearly unrestrained hand of the foreign missionary in transplanting the methods and systems with which he was most familiar to Indian towns and villages in the establishment of the church.These heritages which resulted almost exclusively from the dominant power, i.e. the power that wielded the wealth and directed the expenditure thereof, may be grouped for the sake of presentation into two main categories - a. those connected with the Church organization and institution as such; and b. the customs affecting equipment and relationships to other bodies. And yet it must be borne in mind that the whole impact of the western culture cannot be categoried thus. Speaking of the westernizing influence of the impact of Christianity, Miss K. Sircar, makes the following observations:

> "It is true that on the whole the present day Indian Christian is more 'western' in his thinking, habits, and culture than his fellow Hindu or Muhammedan, Some of this is a necessary result of the differences in religion. History proves that the impact of any two nationalities is bound to produce modifications in the outlook and habits of both: these become intensified when one nation accepts the religion of the other in place of its own, because in the early stages it is difficult to distinguish between religious customs and social traditions. The "westernizing" or 'denationalizing' process was, therefore, not the result either of deliberate effort on the part of the pioneer missionaries to national characteristics in their new converts or a pure accident, but rather a fact of history. In India it assumed a graver significance because here the social life of the people is so exclusively built upon a religious basis and almost all traditions, customs, and practices have a religious foundation. The new community that was formed when the people of India began to accept the Christian faith, found themselves

turn turning away from their own country-men to western Christians: the latter extended their protection to the new group who in many cases, suffered much hardship and persecution at the hands of their own countrymen. Thus the new Christian community became quite distinct and separate. Some of this isolation and keeping aloof was perhaps, necessary at the early stage in the life of the Christian church in India, and may have been even definitely adopted as a policy in order to avoid the risk of the new faith being absorbed into the deeply rooted and long established Hindu religion - so wide and so elastic as to have already absorbed Buddhism and Jainism."[1]

And again from the same author as affecting the church membership itself:

"The new and infant Church emerging from among so many millions of non-Christians had a faint distrust of all the social customs of their countrymen, and believed that as Christians it was not safe for them to continue in them not knowing when the social aspect merged into the religious. Thus the little Indian church modelled itself upon the western church in the belief that it was Christian and not a western model. All that was western was then believed to have the sanction of the Christian faith... In these days through lack of well trained Indian men and women the most responsible positions in all Christian institutions were filled by western Christians, and naturally produced a western tone and atmosphere in the institutions and helped to mould them on western lines. The boys and girls trained in these institutions carried the same spirit into their homes and created further westernization in the community."[2]

From circumstances such as these which played so large a part in the development of the early church in India, it is very easy to see the facility with which western customs and forms were adopted. But briefly to enumerate a few of these forms that have become the heritage of the indigenous church, will suffice to show clearly the whole aspect of the church. Perhaps the one feature that attracts attention is the ecclesiastical form

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1. Sircar, Miss K.: The Place of Christian Institutions in the Life of the Church, Christian Patriot, April 11, 1925
2. Ibid.

and organization, of either the Episcopalian type of government or the free type savouring of the Presbyterian or Congregational form of government. The authority in the former strict type continues to be the Lambeth Conference, to which all matters are referred for final action, while in the latter the General Body in the home land, from whence come the funds, dictates the policies and becomes the final court of appeal. Not only is the matter of appeal one that affects the missionary alone, but it is carried so far that were a grievance advanced by an Indian which should reach the highest court of appeal, the case would have to be tried in the home land, seriously affecting the judgment of the case as the plaintiff, unless he could speak fluently in the English language, would address an audience that could not understand him. Perhaps his address would have to be interpreted by the defendant, should the defendant be a missionary. And all this supposes he had the courage and the funds to make the trip to the land where dwelt the supporting constituency of the Indian Church.[1]

Another feature that strikes the attention is the liturgical forms that are used. These are largely translations with an occasional concession to Indian life, of the forms used in the home churches. They embody the struggles in doctrine and denominational differences through which the western world has fought its way but which mean little to the Indian church beyond the fact that the membership has grown up in this atmosphere and thus has sanctioned the practice. And closely linked with this liturgy is the hymn book. In one of the most popular of these hymn books, there is a marked division between the hymns, which are largely translations of the hymns of the western church, and the lyrics which are written with the swing of the

1. Fleming, D.J. Devolution in Mission Administration, p. 52

Indian music. To get the full effect of this difference one has but to hear the assembled congregation sing both the hymn and the lyric; the hymn is sung with a studied precision even after years of use, while the free abandon that characterizes the singing of the lyric bears sufficient testimony to its adaptability.

As one steps into the vestibule of one of the town churches to the sound of the ringing bell from the belfry, there greets him a scene that reminds him of the home land. Rows of benches on either side of the central aisle which leads to the altar in the Anglican church or to the platform in the free churches, set in an arched recess of simply adorned masonry, or perchance in the more progressive churches which have appealed to the liberality of the west, a Tiffany Window of leaded glass. Upon the platform is the desk behind which the preacher stands when addressing the congregation that assemble. Even the offering is received in small sacks attached to the end of long sticks or upon offering plates imported from a New York house.

The music is led by tones from an organ, while the voluntary, if such there be, has been chosen from the book prepared by musicians of the west. The lights that flood the nave of the church are grouped in a large central chandelier, adorned with the glass pendants, or in more recent days are the incandescent gasoline lamps, whose mantles turn black because of ignorance in the care of the lamps. The baptismal font standing beside the platform and the communion service are the more occasional reminders of the

western heritage. Within this environment the Indian Church has grown up and has been free to borrow in part from the Anglican service but almost in no instance from the world about, the land of its birth and life.

Still another feature is one that Dr. Lucas refers to briefly and is deserving of mention:

> "The Indian Church has not yet succeeded in getting a suitable name for its ordained minister, but has adopted and tenaciously clings to the English title of 'Reverend'. It has similarly adopted the clerical dress of the European for its pastors, and the cassock, the white tie, and the clerical coat are paraded before the Hindu to emphasize the foreign aspect of the Christian religion."[1]

But there is a decided reaction against this foreign feature in the Christian church and efforts are being made in the villages and in newer communities to direct the development along lines more in keeping with satisfactions that play a vital part in the lives of the converts. For while the village congregations are different from the congregations in the town churches, and the building that serves as the church in the village is at first only a thatched hut and later a mud and a sun-dried brick structure, crudely fashioned, the vision that stimulates the faithfulness of the catechist is that of some day having a church like the one in this or that town. Hence, unless the reaction becomes stronger and makes a stirring appeal to the real Indian consciousness, the perpetuation of westernization is a danger that is evident, and the day of real contribution to the national life of the Indian people by the Christian church is postponed.

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1. Lucas, B.: Our Task in India, p. 118

A second sphere of practices has grown up in the community directly traceable to the western influence. The architecture of the churches and of the school buildings and hospitals has been massive and planned with a view to approach the standards and efficiencies as discovered practicable in the west. Much money has been invested in buildings and even apart from the foreign aspect, which feature is by no means of small importance, the fact of a transfer to the Indian Church for maintenance is in itself forboding and cruel. To find itself burdened with immense structures that shut out the nature beauties with which for so many centuries the life of the people has been connected and which finds so large a place in the poetry of the folk, is sufficient to discourage the rising church that seeks to make provision for its own life and advancement. Such an inheritance may so shackbe the growing community that the day when it shall be able to assume the support of its own work will be pushed back beyond the possibilities of the present generationa, nay even of the coming generation. It is not only the present buildings that will present large budgets for upkeep but the acceptance of these as standards of future structures and equipments that will prove the undoing of many a noble effort.

A further imposition which seems more cruel than even that of the structure of the buildings which become the property of the Indian church is the lack of comity which is communicated to the indigenous members of the churches by the representatives from the west, The latter, harbouring denominational differences that date from the Middle Ages, have accentuated

these differences to the extent that envy and jealousies have arisen between members of different missions, each speaking of its own membership as contrasted with that of an adjoining body, instead of recognizing the equality of all as members of the Church of Christ in India. To find lines of cleavage drawn carefully between those who are grouped in the census tables as Christians because hundreds of years ago something happened in Europe, is almost unbelievable except that one still sees it in certain sections. The result of this attitude keeps the members of that section of the church from all cooperation in the great movements in educational and ecclesiastical lines and creates unhealthy conditions dividing the church where it should be united.

The situation that is being presented in India today resembles in many respects the early period of the Christian church during the days of the Roman Empire, And in a very interesting article, entitled "Syncretism in the early Christian Period and in Present-day India", W. D. Schermerhorn of the Garrett Biblical Institute "sketches the interaction of religions in the Mediterranean world in which Christianity was involved; sets over against this survey a description of the converging elements of the religious life of modern India and asks: 'Will the Christian movement in India be like the Christian movement in the Roman Empire? Will the time come when the two classes are so nearly alike in sympathy and purpose that a man can pass from the one to the other without serious shock and thus the multitudes flock into the Christian church? Or will Christianity suffer the fate of Buddhism and

be absorbed?'[1] That Christianity with its heritages from the West today will face and battle its way through to an expression of its own life, just as truly as did the Mediterranean world that had received the Jewish heritage in Christianity, is no longer a question that needs to be asked but becomes an assertion that can be made with full confidence. India and the Indian Church will make its own picture, adding to the materials at hand the wealth of a religious experience that breathes its native air and permeates the very fibre of the soul of India, drawing upon the riches of the ages of soul stirring struggles in the vital things of life. These heritages are the stones which enter the structure that is now being fashioned along lines truly Indian.

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1. The Christian Patriot, November 15, 1924

CHAPTER III

THE PROCESS OF DEVOLUTION

It was with considerable pride that both the missionaries and the constituent bodies at the home base looked upon the growing indigenous church and felt that it was a child well-born. That some day it would attain its growth and become a partner in the great scheme of evangelism was recognized theoretically and lauded as a goal toward which every effort should be bent. But the many seemed to postpone that day until a distant date little dreaming that the very culture and nurture that the church had received, had ingrained in its very being a germ-seed that now was coming to maturity. And the folk that sought the protection of, and the incorporation with the foreign missionaries, under the stressed teaching of their value as men, applied as it had been to the other Indian social divisions, now turned and applied the same measure to the mission. The Indian membership of the church which for years had constituted the "agency" and had willingly submitted to the direction of the westerners, now began to ask for a larger voice in the determination of their own activities. They became conscious of their own worth and existence, and did so by realizing the presence of the mission as a body apart from themselves. The mission personnel had heretofore factored as part and parcel of the whole body of the Christian church. But now under the tutelage of the missionaries, the Indians trained to think of an "other"[1]

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1. Mead, George H.: The Social Self, Journal of Philosophy, Psychology and Scientific Methods, Vol. I p.374-80

in terms of the non-Christian sections of the Indian society, now thought of the "other" in terms of the mission and as a consequence recognized themselves as differentiated from the once total group. And at once there opened up a new realm of life and a new series of problems for adjustments. As a child first becoming conscious of itself and realizing that it possessed certain faculties, the indigenous church became aware of its existence and of the possibilities that such an existence afforded.

In commenting on this Dr. Fleming remarks:

> "It is evident therefore that the very success of missionary forces in raising up a church rooted in the soil of each land brings with it what is one of the most difficult problems of modern Mission administration - viz., the adjustment of relations between the missions and home church on the one side and the growing indigenous church on the other. It is universally admitted that missionary operations are not to be permanent; but the question how they may withdraw still for the most part has to be worked out."[1]

And while this was written in 1916 the problem is well-nigh as keen today in the procedure that is to be adopted, while of course the necessity for such a step is far greater. And that one reason for this increasing emphasis upon the recognition of the Indian section of the Church in the policies has arisen from the participation of Indians in the Great War and from the subsequent political agitation, is indeed clear. In this connection Ross Wilson, writing on "Recent Political Events in India and their Relation to Missions", observes that:

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1. Fleming, D. J.:Devolution in Mission Administration, p. 36

> "As was to be expected, the movement for political reform has had its counterpart within the Christian Community. The prospect of devolution in the political government of the country has led to the demand for devolution in Missions and ecclesiastical control. Practically every missionary society at work in India has reshaped its policy to meet the aspirations of an indigenous and autonomous Church."[1]

The secretary of the National Christian Council for India, W. Paton, treats of the subject, "Relationships between Indians and Europeans", and says:

> "In a perfectly true sense many missionaries have been fathers of their people - they have begotten them in Christ and watched the infant Christian Community grow from infancy to childhood and adolescence .....But a time comes when childhood is followed by adolescence and manhood, and the paternal attitude has to be replaced by something else. It is brotherhood that is needed then and hard though it may be for men to change from a spirit and temper in which they have done years of self-less work, change there must be if disaster is to be avoided."[2]

To this transfer of control has been given the term Devolution, a term that has been borrowed from the governmental regime in whose reform schemes there was a place for more self-direction and control of the administration. And in the use of the word, we would follow the author of "Devolution in Mission Administration":

> "'Devolution' is used to indicate the act of devolving, transferring or handing over. In the literature of missions it is increasingly used to denote the transfer of powers, authority, and responsibilities from the foreign churches and Missions to indigenous organizations. Where the process is in active operation, as in South India, the word has a place in popular missionary usage. 'Devolution(and 'euthanasia of the Mission' are expressions that stand for attitude and practice more and more necessary and prevalent among missionaries in oriental countries."[3]

2.Paton, W.: International Review of Missions, Vol. viii, p. 527
3.Fleming, D. J.: Devolution in Mission Administration, p. 5
1.Wilson, Ross: Recent Political Events in India and their Relation to Missions p. 57

But as has been pointed out above (Page iv-v) the process of Devolution is a stage in the development of the indigenous church leading up to a more radical and a more vital process, that of Indianization, by which is meant the expression of the Indian genius in and through the Church life. That Devolution is and has proven to be a necessary step in the development of the indigenous church cannot be gainsaid. But the life of the church would be stultified were it to be the final step, were the growing Indian Church to be linked forever to foreign customs and ritual. The life of the growing church cannot but express itself and the training for this self-expression is found in the process of devolution.

And in the consideration of the process of Devolution we would consider first the process as affecting the Mission Institution and secondly the ecclesiastical application in the move toward Union schemes affecting the Indian Church as a unit. That both of these features factor in the devolving of responsibility and look forward to a real integration of the Christian Church in India is certainly evident. It is also clear that there is no one scheme that is a panacea for all cases but that there are trends that reveal themselves from various experiments that promise success is one of the most hopeful indications. It resolves itself into "a general shifting of centres of gravity"[1] as has been aptly stated by Dr. Fleming.

a. The Experiment in Mission Administration

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1. Fleming, D. J.: Devolution in Mission Administration, p. 15

The matter of control and the determination of policies affecting the agency is the real crux of the issue. The question is thus stated from the angle of the Indian: "Is the indigenous church merely an extension of western organizations or is there a place for the folk who have thrown in their lot with the institution?" It resolves itself clearly into this situation:

> "On the one side the exercise of power and the sense of belonging to a privileged caste is apt to breed an attitude of superiority, arrogance, and disdain, which provokes resentment. On the other side, when the spirit of nationalism has once been aroused, the thought that aliens control the destinies of the country (or in this case the community) becomes intolerable."[1]

Or to put the case very strongly for the sake of putting the issue sharply, Mr. Putnam Weale frankly admits that "race hatred in Asia is simply the hatred of the 'under dog' for the powerful animal that stands growling over him."[2]

It must not be understood that the issue came to anywhere near this crisis in the matter of the missions in South India, for the interest and association of the members of the two sections, foreign and indigenous, permitted of a recognition of the situation long before it reached an advanced position. And with true courage, the missionaries faced the situation manfully and sought the solution. For some of them the matter partook of the color described in the following excerpt but with the same heroic spirit they rose above the non-essentials in the issue to the right of the

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1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 38
2. Weale, P.: Conflict of Color, p. 196p7, quoted by Oldham, p. 39

cause.

> "The man whom we dislike may belong to adifferent race or caste or sect. It may be impossible for us to rise above those barriers. But what Christianity says, as Professor Royce has put it, is 'Donot consider these unhappy facts as having any bearing on your love for him. For the ethical side of the doctrine of life concerns not what you find but what you are to create....View him then as the soldier views the comrade who serves the same flag with himself, and who dies for the same cause."[1]

And the first step toward this end was the incorporation of a single Indian or a selected few within the circle of the Mission body, first as advisers but soon as full voting members of the Mission. This procedure was adopted to secure the Indian opinion on matters affecting the indigenous element of the church. It recognized that the great numbers were untrained to face the issues and would be bewildered by the complexity of the task. Perfect freedm was found on the part of the missionaries and to a large extent on the part of the Indians, in so far as the meetings of the meetings of the Mission were concerned, but the inclusion of the few within the Mission body, created a gulf between the few and their own people. Moreover considerable suspicion gathered about the action for it was admittedly felt that they were selected as administrative "pace-Setters" or "tools" of the controlling body. And rightly, the representatives asked that their opinions might be taken only as personal opinions and not as in any way binding the community to which they belonged.

The second type of experiment was the separation of one phase of

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1. Royce, Josiah: The Problem of Christianity, Vol. I, p. 350, quoted in Christianity and the Race Problem, Oldham, p. 222

work, e.g., the evangelistic village work, and the assignment of this work, its control and direction to a separately constituted body, to which the Mission elected certain representatives, and the Indian Church sent its delegates on a general basis of communicant membership. Final decision, however, was vested in the mission for this was still the recognized body in the eyes of the home constituency. Herein entered the factor of cooperative effort which has the germ of a later experiment, and the experiment recognised the truth of the position taken by J. H. Oldham:

> "A man's claim to a share of material things is transformed when the claim is made in order that he may fulfil his part in a common task. That his claim should besatisfied is not his interest alone but the interest of all. When we learn to think of our fellowmen as co-workers in a common social purpose, we realize that all are necessary. Every difference becomes a source of enrichment....Every race because of the difference in its biological inheritance and in its historical experiences can give something that can be got from no other source."[1]

An instance of the second type of experiment is the Indian Church Board of the American Arcot Mission. With by far the majority of the Board, being Indians, the experiment was thus estimated by one who has been with it throughout itw whole history and who had not been too favorably disposed to it at the inauguration:

> "After ten years of experience so cordial has been the cooperation and goodwill that not once in all that time did a single occasion arise in which the Mission was called upon to exercise its prerogative of veto in over-ruling an action taken by the Indian Church Board."

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1. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 225

But the defect of the experiment lay in the Occidental methods and procedure - a system devised by the mission and through the years of training perpetuated by the western attitude toward matters affecting the church. Not that this was purely a foreign issue for such was by no means the case. The pastors and catechists, having been trained in these methods found them less disturbing than newer national methods might have been. And of course there remained the vital fact that the money was allocated by the Mission and a report of the expenditure, together with a review of the actions of the Indian Church Board was made to the Mission annually. Nevertheless, this experiment and others similar to it occurring in other sections of the peninsula mark tremendous strides forward and lay the foundations for further advances.

Taking advantage of this momentum a third stage of experimentation was reached in a scheme of cooperative effort in which the Indian element comprises at least 50% of the total membership of the new body. To it has been transferred the work formerly conducted by the Mission, in the fields of evangelistic, educational, economic, and medical endeavor. The secretary of the new body is in direct correspondence with the Board Secretary in America. That step, a cooperative effort in administration was commented on in the daily newspaper of the Metropolis most favorably as a venture in the right direction. A reprint of this account finds place in the Christian Patriot, and the following excerpts are made from it to give an idea of the attitude taken by a daily paper:

"The report of the Joint Conference of the American Arcot Mission and the Indian Church Board which met recently in Vellore was published in our columns on Tuesday. It is significant as marking the sympathy of the Board in America towards the aspirations of the Indian Church, a sympathy which has found expression in the decision to establish a joint body of Indians and missionaries to carry on the work of the Mission in the future. In coming to this important decision the Dutch Reformed Church in America has decided on the side of progress. It is surely time that the attitude of paternalism which has so long characterised the relationship of the Mission Society towards the Indian Christians should pass, if the Church is ever to be really Indian.... It would be suicidal for Missions to wait until Indian churches had developed a tradition of their own before they began to put responsibilities upon them which had earlier been met by the Churches' representatives from the West... If the purpose of Christian Missions in India is to perpetuate Christianity in all its Western draperies then the sooner they recognise that they are doomed to failure, the better for themselves, for their religion, and for India."[1]

The essential feature of the scheme is the cooperative effort which not only recognizes the shared responsibility but the right of shared constructive effort. "Cooperation in counsel merges insensibly into cooperation in action"[2], and "civilisation is a cooperative achievement"[3]. And with these two key-words the experiment has been launched. It is but one of the more advanced experiments in cooperative responsibility for the future of the indigenous church. But the success of all such experiments depends so largely upon the basis of cooperation that the comment of "The Hindu", probably the leading Indian paper published in English in Madras and frequently taking a position opposed to Governmental actions, is in order as touching a very vital point in case:

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1. The Madras Mail, reprinted in the Christian Patriot, Jan. 27, 1923
2. Oldham, J.H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 243
3. Whitehouse and Gooch: Wider Aspects of Education, p. 1-2, quoted in Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 245

> "The union of the East and West, is one of the ideals of modern political idealists and philosophers, (and it might well be added of missions). That alone will secure the way to permanent peace and safeguard the future of civilisation. But this union cannot be realised without the West acknowledging the equality of the East in all matters of racial and international importance. True unity can exist only as between equals, and so long as discriminating differences in status and treatment are enforced by the one upon the other, the ideal will ab best remain a distant vision, impossible of achievement."[1]

This can be the only basis of any and all cooperative efforts affecting representatives of two cultures and often of two groups biologically different. And within such a Joint Assembly or a parallel grouping there is afforded the opportunity for the experiment under conditions that are very favorable, for there is much more of the personal element entering into the relationships making personal friendships between Indian and European, possible. This latter feature is one of the vital issues of bridging many an untoward situation. For it is perhaps true as Viscount Grey said in an address at the Student Conference at Glasgow, in 1921:

> "If all the good you do in a country is not the particular sort of good that country appreciates or wants; if it does not produce the goodwill and contentment of the population; what is the good of going on with your work?"[2]

And as applied to the mission situation, it is just as telling for charity and benevolence have created a barrier that the benefited will not cross.

With the experiment in devolution which has just been described, we have a situation that calls for leadership in the indigenous church.

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1. The Hindu - September 15, 1921, quoted in Christianity and the Race Problem, J. H. Oldham, p. 86
2. Oldham, J. H.: Christianity and the Race Problem, p. 114

This becomes the burden of the whole scheme for unless that is forthcoming the devolution of powers becomes a mere farce and an empty coffin. And the Secretary of the National Christian Council for India, in an article entitled "The Development of Indian Leadership", strikes a keynote that will bear consideration:

> "The fundamental principle is that the leadership of the work of Christ in India must be Indian or fail. Some argue that men should be chosen solely on the ground of fitness without regard to race. But in a Church of Christ in India, the expression of God's spirit in Indian terms must be predominantly Indian in thought and vision.....There is only one thing that will permanently render the Church in India an Indian Church, and that is the control of it by the Indians. In the long run the way to rid the Church in India of the many slavish imitations of the ways of Western Christianity - elements which contribute to the estrangement of the mind of India from the Church - is to make the Indians effective in the organisation and life of the church."[1]

So emphatic is the insistence upon this Indian leadership that the question has arisen in several quarters as to whether the time has not come to cease sending men and women from the West and to limit the support of the western churches to the forwarding of money in the form of a subsidy, to be spent at the discretion of the indigenous church, it being felt that the feeling of trusteeship would be accepted in good faith by the members of this church. (It might be in place to point out that this is one of the debated points in many localities.) But in answer to just this expression of opinion, the Secretary of the Y. M. C. A. of India has written an article which

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1.Paton, W.: The Christian Patiot. March 7, 1925

in part is quoted:

> "Most Missions have now accepted the principle of Devolution, and are actually devolving responsibility on the churches with varying degrees of speed and wisdom. There are one or two serious problems arising out of this process. Where a mission finds it possible or necessary to withdraw British (and he adds this note - 'In all this I should like to have used, 'foreign' or better, 'western' instead of 'British'') personnel in consequence of the devolution, it is to that extent diluting the quality of its missionary service. No British church can discharge its missionary responsibility by merely sending money to the field, whether it be administered by its own men and women or by the church on the field. Missionary responsibility can be discharged only through the human personalities sent out to the field. Where devolution is taking place, the persons so sent out may have to work under the churches. But their life and service are still needed.....On the other hand I have in mind certain old well-organised self-supporting churches which are being devastated by caste and similar unchristian evils, where British men and women are most urgently needed to show the Christ whom non-Christian India is recognizing in a more accurate and adequate way. It will be fatal to assume that the Indian Christian Community is Christian, any more than any so-called Christian community is, anywhere in the world..... The point is that the Indian Church does still need foreign personnel to assist it in regard to its own spiritual life... .....The process of Devolution is now in that interim stage which is as interesting as it is delicate. It is trying to the veterans; it is awkward to the younger men. In most cases no effectual change has resulted. In other words only administration has changed hands, not the work itself. What is needed is to enable the younger Indians, to take hold of the work as their own - which is not merely to be administered but done, developed, and expanded; to realise that the heroic day of the pioneers is not past. This is a task obviously for the young missionary from Britain."[1]

And this note is added which is significant of Indian opinions:

> "While the above statement represents the personal views of Mr. K. T. Paul, we are in agreement with his main point and desire to further the appeal which he makes.
>
> (Sd) H. C. Balasundaram
> Y. M. C. A. Madras, and Secretary of the Madras Representative Christian Council.

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1. Paul, K. T.: Should British Young Men and Women be Still Called to Missionary Work in India? The Christian Patriot, November 8, 1924

V. S. Dornakal,
Bishop.

John Mathai,
Professor of Economics, in the University of Madras.

P. O. Philip,
Joint Secretary, National Christian Council.

N. L. Rallia, Ram, Young Men's Christian Association, Lahore, and Secretary of the Punjab Christian Council and of the All-India Christian Conference.

S. K. Tarafdar,
Bhagalpur, Canon of Calcutta Cathedral

K. Zachariah,
Professor of History, Presidency College, Calcutta, and Chairman of the Student Christian Association of India, Burma and Ceylon. [1]

And certainly a nobler piece of work could scarcely challenge the youth of the West than that of aiding the youth of another nation to rise into nationhood; to cooperate with the Christian young manhood in giving a temper to the indigenous church in its possible contribution to national India. The stage is set for tremendous strides and the Christian youth is alive to the spirit of the day:

> "The educated Indian is quivering all over with the strength of the Nationalist impulse. He has all but lost his self-control. What seems so significant

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1. The Christian Patriot, November 8, 1924

> tone is the change that has come over the Indian Christian community. Twenty years ago it was anti-nationalist from top to doe. Today it is full of fiery young fellows more nationalist than the most nationalist of the Hindus. And it is the very best of our men to whom Nationalism appeals most. Look at Datta and Paul."[1]

There is one criticism, however, that one feels to be in order. It is not a condemnation of the experiment for the process of Devolution is today, and will remain for some time a most vital step in mission administration. The criticism is rather a warning that unless the point stressed by K. T. Paul, of "doing the work" and "not merely administering it", is taken to heart there will still remain a western drapery about the indigenous church in India. With developed leadership and the field cleared for action, the Indian temper must be given to the expressions of Christianity to make it a real Indian product. And it is this point that is the real issue of the paper. Devolution is an advance but it does not go far enough. Indianisation or the expression of the Indian temper of the people becomes the crux of Christianity's progress in India; with it Christianity will live, without it die, or remain a denationalizing factor in India. The consideration of this process will find place in the succeeding chapters of this thesis.

b. The Experiment in Ecclesiastical Control.

The question of authority has become one of primary magnitude in

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1. Gwynn, J. T.: Indian Politics, p. 212

the indigenous church in India. For so long as each group of Christians found its inspiration and guidance in the small body of foreign missionaries whose commission had been to go to India to preach and to teach, the form, the organisation, and the authority rested in the Church constituency in the home land. This gave rise to such differentiations as English churches, Scotbh churches, American churches, German churches, and what is still worse "Indian Wesleyan Christians, Indian Lutheran Christians before the Indian church has produced either a Wesley or a Luther, or has indeed even felt the need of them. We have the fossiled remains of conflicting creeds and ecclesiastical controbersies which ought long ago either to have been buried or put into museums, but which instead are used as signboards to make known to every Hindu who passes by that the Christian church is a foreign institution having absolutely no connection with India."[1] Thus the ultimate authority in each instance was a governing body separated by hundreds and thousands of miles from the individual church, and totally unaware of the peculiar situations facing the said church.

This question of authority together with the desirability of presenting a united front to the non-Christian world led to cooperative comity, first of all, and later, to the recognition that grave injustice would result were these denominational differences to be shackled about the gowing indigenous church. The situation is clearly stated in the brief

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1. Lucas, B.: Our Task in India, p. 116

account of the history of the South India United Church:

> "This church has come into existence through one of the most manifest workings of the spirit of God upon the hearts of men in modern times. One result of that working is seen in the widespread and deep desire to avoid perpetuating the divisions of the West in the churches of the East. Another is seen in the fuller realization alike by Indian and foreign Christians that a strong Indian church bearing its own burdens and fulfilling its own ministry to India, must be the goal of all Christian effort, in these days. A third shows itself in the penetration of the Christian Community by a new patriotism, which at its best seeks that even in religion India may make its own characteristic contribution instead of producing colourless imitations of what is foreign. Forces like these are the real explanation of the actions of Committee and Church bodies here to be related. Without them the visions of a few missionary statesmen and the proceedings of energetic mission and church committees would have produced nothing."[1]

And the history of the development in South India United Church is briefly stated as follows:

> "The South India Missionary Conference which met in Madras early in 1900 so stimulated the desire for union, that within two months of its close, a Joint committee representing the American Arcot, Church of Scotland, and the Free Church of Scotland, Missions, was at work on the twofold task of leading the missions into cooperation and the churches into organic union."[2]
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> "Meanwhile parallel movements had been taking place among those churches whose spiritual ancestry was mainly Congregational. Representatives of the American Madura Mission and of the South India field and the Travancore field of the London Missionary Society came together in 1903 and after six months' work produced proposals for an organic union of churches, a brief confession of faith as the basis of union, and a union of theological seminaries. The proposals met with favor and the first General Assembly of the Churches united thus was held amid great rejoicings at Madura in July 1905....There were destined to be but two such assemblies. The crowning

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1. Handbook of the South India United Church, 1918, p. 1
2. Ibid. p. 2

event of the second which met in July 1907 was the unanimous adoption of a scheme of organic union with the South India Synod of the Presbyterian Church (the union of the Arcot, Church of Scotland, and United Free Church, Missions), on the basis of the constitution which has ever since been the working constitution of the South India United Church."[1]

"It was not without sacrifices on both sides that Presbyterians and Congregationalists were able to agree upon a common constitution and confession of faith, but we believe that there has been a synthesis into a higher unity rather than a reduction to a common denominator. Congregationalists had to sacrifice the old independency in giving to the Church Councils an authority of which local congregations had hitherto had no experience....Presbyterians had to be content with a less centralized form of government and with a simpler confession of faith."[2]

Sufficient has been said to indicate one mighty stride forward in the devolution of ecclesiastical authority in South India. And that this step has been amply justified can be seen from the subsequent history of the Church and from the movement among other bodies to enter this union. But as a unique instance of the practical consequence of this Union, reference should be made to the assumption by the United Church, of the responsibility for the work of the Basel Mission, which for yeard during and after the war left the Malabar territory in rather precarious condition. The willingness of the South India United Church to assume this responsibility and to invest both money and men into the carrying forward of the noble work that had been so tragically interrupted by the Great War and its aftermath as affecting enemy possessions on Empire soil, became proof, if proof were

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1. The Handbook of the South India United Church - 1918, p. 2
2. Ibid. p. 2
N.B. For a fuller and very able presentation of the history of the South India United Church reference should be made to "Movements towards Church Union in South India" - C.G.Manshardt, Ph.D.Thesis University of Chicago, 1924

needed, of the effectual union of once divided churches, each with its national or denominational allegiance. And the Union of the Church certainly provided an effective organisation for the expression of the principles of Christian brotherhood to Indian Christians and churches bereft of finance and guidance by the withdrawal of the German missionaries. And this service proclaimed to itself a greater solidarity than could have been fondly hoped for the founders so short a time before. Within a period less than two decades to have become so united an organization as to be able, and to be considered worthy by Government to assume the responsibility, is in itself an evidence of the reality of the experiment in union.[1]

As a consequence to the successful union effected in the South India United Church, a larger union is being sought between the Church of England carrying on work primarily through the Church Missionary Society and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and the South Indian United Church. It is an interesting effort and brings vividly to the fore the foundations of the denominationalism of the west. The issues at stake are the Basis of Episcopacy; the Commissioning Service, a provision whereby re-ordination is avoided but under conditions that some of the non-Anglican bodies claim to detect as insistence upon a historical Episcopacy; the whole issue of intercommunion, not only between the two large bodies but also among the bodies with which each is now in communion; and a matter of church government. From the point of the discussions that have attended the

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1. Minutes of the Ninth General Assembly, S. I. U. C. 1923, pp. 24-5

several proposals the camps are divided: - there are those who see in these propositions the only possible basis of union, and therefore advise it on the claim that a United Church is desirable even at great costp while there are others just as keenly interested in the welfare of the indigenous Church that oppose these proposals on the ground that they will precipitate in India the old controversies between the Anglican Church and the non-conformist bodies. There is a further complication on the side of the Anglicans with reference to the authority of the Lambeth Conference over the proposed Church of India.[1] But notwithstanding the many difficulties and prejudices there is no doubt that much earnest effort is being put forth to secure a clearer field for the indigenous church in India, a feature that cannot be too highly commended.[2]

There is a third movement that requires some attention. It is a movement that falls between the previous section and the one just considered, as far as its scope is concerned. It is the movement among the three missions, Arcot which has not become the Arcot Assembly (the joint organisation of Indians and missionaries, to which reference has been made) the Church of Scotland Mission, and the United Free Church Mission, to transfer the evangelistic village work to the Councils of the South India United Church. At present the work of the villages is carried on by the three missions while the ecclesiastical affiliation of the churches of

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1. Minutes of the General Assembly, S. I. U. C. 1923, App. A. The report of the Joint Committee on Church Union.
2. For fuller discussion, consult Mandhardt, C. G.: Movements toward Union in South India.

these villages is in two Councils of the S. I. U. C. This move to transfer the work to the Councils is the logical step that must be taken to bring the work of the Church, now being done by the Mission agencies, under the control of the autonomous Indian Church.[1] It is interesting to note that these are the three missions that made the move toward the Union of the Presbyterian bodies which later became the South India United Church. And now the proposals suggest the amalgamation of the two Councils of Arcot, and of Madras, to which reference was just made, into one Church Council, as the body to which the transfer shall be made. Assuredly herein lies an opportunity for the Christian Nationalist to launch upon work that calls for the finest effort and most unwearied devotion.

Devolution as it has been considered is a step that has proven its worth and demonstrated its need, but as has been pointed out, it must not become the goal of the Indian Church. In such a case the perpetuation of Western Christianity would result. And such a perpetuation would spell a lost opportunity and perhaps a deal more the cause of Christ in the world, for it would fail to grip the land of India and to touch her very soul. The logical sequence of devolution and its fulfilment is the free expression of the Christian life in the garb of the land. This becomes nessessary so that there may stand forth before the people of the land An institution essential to the national life, with its promise of merging the inheritances of two great cultures, and of reaching forth to introduce India to

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1. The Scheme of Devolution - prepared by the three Missions.

international relationships. It is thus that we turn to the problem of Indianisation as the next step in the progress and advancement of Christianity in India.

CHAPTER IV

THE DEMAND FOR SELF-EXPRESSION

> "Once when I was travelling in Rajputana', said the Sadhu (Sadhu Sundar Singh), 'there was a Brahman of high caste hurrying to the station. Overcome by the great heat, he fell down on the platform. The Anglo-Indian stationmaster was anxious to help him. He brought him some water in a white cup, but he would not take the water. He was so thirsty but he said: 'I cannot drink that water, I would prefer to die.' 'We are not asking you to eat the cup', they said to him. 'I will not break my caste', he said, 'I am willing to die.' But when the water was brought to him in his brass vessel he drank it eagerly. When it was brought to him in his own way he did not object. It is the same with the Water of Life. Indians do need the Water of Life, but not in the European's cup."[1]

And herein the Sadhu has expressed the burden of the issue - not only from the angle of the readiness with which the non-Christian Indian will accept the Christ, but we might carry the figure a bit further and say that the brass cup of Indian expression is the most efficient form in which he can use the ideas of the Christ. Not that it means a divorce from the Christian past and its heritage but a quickening of the real vital factor in the expression of the Indian genius of life verities. In this connection Baron von Hugel, whose close association with the Sadhu has enabled him to interpret the attitude of the Sadhu sums up the position thus:

> "The Sadhu most rightly does not by a specifically Indian Christianity mean a Christianity so much adapted to Indian thought as to cease to be a living Christianity..

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1. Streeter and Appasamy: The Sadhu, p. 227

> .....Indeed the Sadhu's entire general outlook, in all its positive features does not, in its grandly non-pantheistic, its personalist and historical connections, simply echo or take over en bloc, any of the strains actually predominant in Indian philosophy and religion."[1]

Or to put the issue in the words of Bernard Lucas:

> "To disguise Christianity in Hindu dress is to misinterpret it."[2]

The fact remains that the adoption of Christianity requires a contribution that shall make it a living factor in the environment in which it is to live. Western folk have taken the body of truths that have come to them and have interpreted and vitalised those truths so that their lives have found the dynamic factor of a victorious experience.

And the position of the author of "Our Task in India" is pertinent:

> "It is sometimes said that we have nothing to do with an Eastern or Western Christianity but with Christianity itself, for Christianity knows nothing of such a distinction. It will be time to drop such a distinction when the Christianity can be pointed to which is not coloured by the influence of race and clime. The Christianity which is pure and complete will not arrive until each religious type has contributed its divinely appointed quota to the whole.... There is an Indian Christianity and an Indian Christian life which have yet to be developed, before we shall understand or enjoy the full measure of that abundant life which the Christ came to reveal. We may have found in Christ our ideal, but it is for the Hindu (Indian) to find his."[3]

Or to put the case from a slightly different angle which links up the factor of devolution with the demand for self-expression we would cite a passage from J. D. Anderson:

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1. Streeter and Appasamy; The Sadhu, p. 226
2. Lucas, Bernard: Our Task in India, p. 29
3. Ibid. p. 32

"The multiplicity of missionary agencies, due to the accidents of European history and development, has been an impediment. Such terms as the Church of England, Church of Scotland, Welsh Baptists, American Baptists, can have little significance for races that cannot be expected to know the historical causes which brought these local varieties of Christian doctrine and practice. There may yet arise among one of the rival churches In India a Christian Ramanuja or Chaitanya who may found a great Church of India, with a ritual and perhaps doctrines of its own. The most successful of the Jesuit missionaries, Robert de Nobili, for instance, and such men as the Abbe du Bois in later times owed their success to the fact that they assumed the habits, dress and often the titles of Brahmanic ascetics. They could not assume the dusky skin which after all is the first and the easiest means of gaining an Indian's confidence. They could not wholly accept caste, they could not wink at polygamy in the case of men whose first wives were infertile, and who had a hereditary sense that the lack of an heir is socially and religiously reprehensible. Perhaps a truly indigenous church of India may deal with such difficulties more successfully than men who are compelled to teach not only the elements of the Christian faith but the ethical tradition belonging to their own race."[1]

And with the progress that has been effected through the steps of Devolution greater promise of a successful meeting of the situation presents itself. The growth of the national consciousness that is sweeping through the indigenous church is a factor that seems to have the potentiality of a solution. In it are found the love for the Motherland that is desirous of preserving the best of the past, and also a thirst for a greater glory for the Motherland which will lead to the acceptance of those principles which make for progress and quickening of life, provided such principles can

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1. Anderson, J. D.: The Peoples of India, p. 106

be clothed and restated in terms of the Indian genius.

> "The reaction of India to the great body of tradition institutions, ideas thrown in these latter days upon her - all that is shortly termed 'the West' - takes in part the form of Nationalism. The word brings us to the heart of the crisis; and a crisis it is in the literal sense, a time of judging for acceptance or rejection, and men come to the new things with old canons of judgment established in their minds, old desires, habits, affections, which in the very attempt to judge new things by them men bring into judgment themselves. Through the various difficulties, tensions, doubts, travailings, combinations, which results, life becomes deeper and richer..... Nationalism in India has many aspects beside the political. Over the whole field in which interaction between the native tradition and the new things is going on - religion, art, social life, individual ethics - Nationalism is an organizing principle of conservation and resistance.".[1]

And in the operation of this process of evaluation and judgment the Indian Christian is facing the heritage of his community which partakes largely of the foreign aspects of his religious formalism, if not of his life, although the latter in most instances is western in content too, and he begins to realize the separation this has caused in his nationalistic relationships. He recognizes the value of the religious experience but asks pertinent questions as to the concomitant features that have been linked with Christianity. In an editorial appearing in the Christian Patriot, January, 1923, the following position was taken:

> "The terms and conditions on which Indians should receive Jesus is their own business, which they would learn at Jesus' feet, but let others look to themselves, on what terms and conditions they are receiving him. Have they

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1. Bevan, Edwyn: Indian Nationalism, p. 6

> denied their fatherland motherland, have they repudiated the prejudices and flaming passions of their countrymen, have they learnt the humility born of the realization of their own endless compromises with the powers of the world, in one word, have they understood Jesus as He is? India waits for an answer to these questions."[1]

And beneath this paragraph one feels the pulse beat of a group that has not only become conscious of its own existence but of one that is demanding the privilege and right of self-expression. And that self-expression can only take the form of a national, indigenous genius that clothes itself in terms intelligible to India. What reason would there be in at the same time suggesting to the Indian to be Indian to the core in political matters but anti-Indian in matters affecting religion? And while this has been the case at many points under the denationalizing feature of a westernized Christianity, is it not true that "we have not grafted into the wild olive, we have uprooted it, and planted a new and foreign seed instead. We have saved him from India, and lost him for India."[2] For

> "If the Indian Church is to be representative of an India regenerated by the power and influence of Christ and in which the religious Hindu may feel at home, it must in its creeds and liturgies stand for India and not western modes of thought and feeling, as those Indian thoughts and sentiments have been transfigured by the ministry of Jesus."[3]

And has not the time come when to use the words of Bishop Welch of Tokyo, when he said in speaking of the situation in Eastern Asia:

> "It was not an iconoclast, but a balanced and sagacious

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1. The Christian Patriot, January 6, 1923
2. Lucas, Bernard: Our Task in India, p. 39
3. Ibid. p. 119

> Chinese leader, who said a little time ago that foreign missions has been a big, capable and kind nurse to the Chinese church, but that foreign missions must now come under the Christian Church which they had nuttured."[1]

and might with all justice say that it was time that the western type of Christianity which had nurtured the Indian Church, should enter the Ashram[2] and learn the truths that the Oriental mind, with its grip upon the mystical, find attractive and helpful in the Christ? For as has already been said, Christianity will reach its full stature when the contributions of Oriental as well as of Occidental experiences have presented a united picture of that central figure, the Christ.

When, under the process of Devolution, mention was made of cooperative effort and of the necessity of cooperative constructive enterprise, a point essential to the success of the indigenous church was suggested. The cry for self-expression would be of small account unless there were the consciousness on the part of the indigenous church that it had a real contribution to make to the draperies of Christianity that it might become more Indian. For unless there is a feature of comparable constructive activity the essential of cooperation fails. And as an instance of just what is meant an illustration may be drawn from the political realm:

> "England has been most successful in governing colonies and in introducing measures of political equality, but as someone who had observed England has said: "England gives her colonies political

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1. The Present Situation - Foreign Mission Conference - Washington Report, p. 20
2. The Ashram is a retreat, where quietness and calm contemplation are afforded. It is best exemplified in the Ashram of Dr. Rabindranath Tagore at Santiniketan.

> equality but not social equality." Of the two the lack of social equality is far more hateful. Social equality does not mean social intercourse for there could not be much of that anyway, but it means an attitude of equality measured by some ultimate standard."[1]

The standard by which the constructive contribution in the cooperative enterprise of the indigenous church could be measured seems to be the capacity for assimilation of the truths of Christianity and the presentation of these truths in true Indian character so that the soul of India may be touched and not merely individuals won to a religious society.

One feature that is hopeful of such a contribution is the clearcut issue which takes shape in the minds of the younger men in the indigenous church. Without hesitation the writers come forward to inquire into the divisive factors that render the Christian community an entity that is looked upon as anti-national, in many nationalistic quarters. Among some of these statements are the following, quoted to indicate the trends of thought in the progressive element of the Indian church:

1. "It is real denationalization and a lamentable degradation to train Indians in those habits of thought which concern physical culture, industrial organization, commercial enterprise, political advancement, mental culture, or even moral progress as ends in themselves. It is truer to India to conserve the mental habit which perceives in all these things but the shadow and the expression of the spirit and the soul."[2]

2. "After enumerating the various ways that have been suggested or tried for giving play to the spirit of the Indian Church, Mr. Devasahayam analyses that

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1. Miller, H. A.: Races, Nations, and Classes, p. 119
2. Paul, K. T.: How Missions Denationalize Indians, I. M. R. Vol. 8, p. 614

spirit. It is (a) the spirit of reformation akin to the 'revolte against organised Christianity in the West' with its cry of'back to the fundamentals, back to the Bible, back to Christ'; (b) the spirit of evangelization which can achieve success beyond the outcaste communities only if Christianity is Indianized; and (c) the spirit of nationalism, demanding 'a more sympathetic and brotherly attitude toward Hinduism' and attemptint 'to do justice to Indian religion and culture and to associate itself with all that is best in its heritage and life, and even to conserve them faithfully in Indian Christianity while setting itself' against all unhealthy tendencies in Western Christianity."[1]

3. "The Christian mission of the West cannot, in my humble opinion, be fulfilled until Western Christianity has disentangled itself rom the inherited shackles of Rome. And it is my belief that religious India is destined to aid in this process of disentanglement. That is why we are alarmed when many and intricate shackles of organization are being forged to bind the religious spirit of Indian Christians. The precious heritage of India is the conception of religion in its spiritual purity, which is also the essence of the religion of Christ. If the West could not be persuaded to regard the Roman Type of Christianity as a degeneration but as an advance,let India at any rate be given the liberty to follow her inner voice."[2]

These are the factors that enter into the cry for self-expression as the logical and consequential step beyond Devolution. It is the cry for Indianisation, a term that has come to be accpted for the Indian expression of the native genius and life. And by the leading Christian paper of South India has been defined thus:

> "The word 'Indianisation' has been misused and an improper understanding of what it connotes has given rise to serious objections thus putting obstacles in the way of a sincere attempt to Indianise Christianity. It has often been taken

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1. Devasahayam, D. M.: The Spirit of the Indian Church, The Christian Patriot of November 11, and December 9, 1922.
2. Ibid. The Christian Patiot, February 17, 1923

to mean 'Hinduization'. Though it is not altogether wrong, this is not exactly what we mean. What we mean by Indianizing Christianity is the adaptation of Christianity to those characteristic temperaments of the Indians, 'the Indian genius', as it is technically called. This can be neither Hinduism nor can it be any other religion. But it must be admitted that the Indian genius has been more clearly expressed in Hinduism than in any other religion, because Hinduism itself is the outcome of the Indian genius. An eminent authority on this point says:

> "There is an Indian spirit common to all existing forms of religious life in the country; and it is this that has to be lived in and assimilated. Further, even Indian Christianity will not be cast in one mould. God forbid. There will be forms many and various; unity in diversity is the Indian catholic genius.'"[1]

And again:

> "All that the Indian genius demands of us and through us, is to express in forms and organizations appealing to the oriental and particularly to the Indian genius the truths of Christianity, both in practice and teaching. The glorious truths of the gospel in order to be attractive must don the meek and gentle Indian garb, preserving the best of the west. The conservation of all the best elements and things that are of the highest value to life and an adaptation to them, wherever necessary, has been the characteristic of Christianity as a universal religion. As it stands in India, at present, it has not been allowed any freedom to incorporate and assimilate the best tradition of Indian thought, culture, and spirituality. This is partly due to the tender care bestowed by our good missionaries and their foreign plant transplanted under adverse conditions on an uncongenial soil; but it is due, also, it must be admitted, to the almost indifferent acceptance by us of an alien system which captivated the Indian by its very novelty and glamour. However the glamour has passed away and we now look forward to its acclimatization on Indian soil in exactly the samp way as it has acclimatised itself during the past centuries in the countries of the West, more thorely than perhaps it has done anywhere in the East."[2]

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1. The Christian Patriot, November 10, 1923
2. Ibid.

With the cry for self-expression or Indianization clearly and definitely expressed by the Young India of the indigenous Church, our attention will turn from the survey of the history of this development through the stages of Devolution to an examination of the process of Indianization as it has taken place in the Christian community itself. The quiet forces, that have been at work compelling a community, that found itself estranged from its own countrymen, to cry out for the freedom of self-expression, are the factors that have resulted in the consciousness of a place that the Christian community is called to fill in the Nationalism of Mother India. For out of a real Indianization of the community itself will come the message and the reinterpretation of the Christian principles, and the participation in the national life. And quietly but surely has the process of Indianization been at work in the recesses of the home and in the ceremonies and customs that link the community together.

CHAPTER V

THE PROCESS OF INDIANIZATION

Strange as it may seem, the Indians, who made up the membership of the indigenous church, could claim India as their native land, but found themselves without the pale of India's social hierarchy. The vast majority were those of the outcaste community, whose self-evaluation as conveyed by the valuation placed upon them in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, was measured in terms of degrees of uncleanness, depending on the distances of twenty-four, thirty-six, and sixty-four feet, which must separate them from the high caste man along the public road, and in the regulated hours during which they might enter a village. They saw themselves placed at the lowest rung of the social ladder, and inasmuch as age long custom had so placed them, they believed themselves inferior and trusted that their karma might some day permit them to rise above the low station to which they had sunk because of some sin they must have committed in a previous birth.

Relief from this status came in allegiance to a foreign people, whose social standing was recognized by the caste folk of India, coming to them with offers of friendship. These offers were gladly accepted as solutions to the coveted object of being counted as worthy of attention, and the Christian Community came into being. The friendships and associations with the missionaries, often in separated communities, knit together the European and the Indian within the indigenous church groupings, with an

emphasis upon a necessary separateness from the non-Christian communities about them. But this tendency led inevitably to a denationalizing of the members of the Christian community, only to be checked in the rising generation of the youth of the community who see the rival claims of communal and national loyalties, and prefer to find life in the contribution of a Christian offering to the service of the Motherland: in an Indianized Christian nationalism.

The examination of the process of Indianization will be considered under the two main sections:

1st. The unifying process in the Christian Community

2d. The nationalizing process of the Christian Community.

For the recognition by their fellowmen came through the social equality that was accorded the members of the outcaste community when they became Christians. And having gained this recognition they were in a position to make and to consider overtures in terms of the nationalism that has been sweeping India for more than two decades. The facilities, that were accorded by the missionary efforts in matters of education and of equipment, placed the Christians from the outcaste communities on an equal, and at times on a better footing than were the caste folk; and consequently capabilities and attainments brought prestige and further recognition. All of these factors play their quiet roles in the process of integrating the Christian Community in the life of the nation, Mother India.

a. The Unifying Process in the Christian Community.

The growth and development of the Christian Community presents two distinct stages of organization and of emphasis. The first is that period that deals with the formation of the Christian Community under the stress of certain satisfactions that were sufficiently prized to warrant a separation from the old communal life with its securities amid all the hardships that did attend the social scale in which the outcastes found themselves. And in South India, where the venerated caste regime was ironclad, and custom ruled as king[1] with a tyrant's rod, such a step meant far more than it would in a more loosely organized society. What had been endured should continue to be endured. But when numbers break away from the old controls of society and seek satisfactions in a community that savors of a non-Indian life with entirely new values, there is something that has entered vitally into the midst of the outcaste community causing this disruption. Out of the process came a community with loyalties that were acquired, and with values that were before unknown, a Christian Community, linked by bonds of intimate regard to the missionaries from the west, and relying largely upon the presence of the missionaries for their moral support, as well as financial sustenance.

The second phase of this progressive development is the effort to preserve the unity of the community. To conserve the elements that entered into the making of the community, as these were interpreted by

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1. Dewey, J.: Human Nature and Social Conduct.

those who took the step of allegiance to the missionaries, and to keep pure the spirit of the community, punishing any laxness of the clear demarcation between the Christian community and the non-Christian communities, became the watchword of the newly formed group. To drive the hangers-on from the real members of the community and to make more valuable the rewards of the members of the community became the goal of every effort. There could be no half-way line in this newly formed community; a man must take his stand definitely for the community's standards or he must have no place within its borders. And this is a process that is going on with considerable vigor in several localities at the present time. But in the very communities where it has flourished most vigorously, the assurance that followed it gave way to a spirit of daring that seized the bolder youths to venture forth into the fields of nationalism. Thus conservation as an element tends in time to struggle with and later to yield to the truths gleaned by the braver and more venturesome souls; but for the time of its supremacy conservatism rules with a strong hand and an assured judgment, crushing with severity every effort that seems to tend toward liberalism and the newer interpretations.

1. The Origin of the Community.

If it is true that an individual or a group gains its value from the value that is ascribed to it by the environing groups, centuries of such evaluation have tended to instil in the minds of the masses of India's population, a sense of low rating and of slight value. And the outcaste

found little to encourage him or to give him a self-respecting value of himself in terms of the hierarchy of Indian society. Hinduism which thoroughly dominated the social life, offered no prospect for better days. The goal obtainable in the process of transmigration seemed too distant to be attractive. The outlook was indeed dismal until there broke upon the outcastes the dawn of another life in the offers of an altered social situation, presented by the coming of Islam and of Christianity. Some relief from the scale of values, that for centuries had been current in their environment, presented itself on the horizon, challenging attention, and creating in many hearts a feeling of unrest and a thirst for better things.

Whether it may be termed an "urge" of the bio-psychological origin for self-recognition[1], or a "wish' formed in the social environment in response to some primal stimulus,[2] the fact remains that there was stirred in the heart of the outcaste a thirst for a value in the social world in which he lived. And for him, conscious as he was of the rating that had been his, it became an elemental struggle for recognition, a desire for status, for a value, for a place in the world. This yearning was not satisfied by the old group within the Hindu society, and the promise of securing it through allegiance to a new group seems especially inviting. For it is clearly evident that this new group, whose nucleus is formed by the missionaries from the west, have value and a high rating even in the eyes

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1. Price, M. T.: Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations
2. Thomas, W. I.: The Polish Peasant

of the high caste Hindus. Thus to be linked with them will mean being classed with the folk that are regarded of value by the very people by whom they have been considered outcastes. By incorporation within the new community, the individual will have a status that comes not from his old heritage but from a new and highly appraised factor, its foreign aspect. That this reacts upon his own value of himself is evident for unless he is of value, why should these foreigners pay attention to him and desire to enlist his interest and cooperation? And thus the promise of a status plunges him into a vital struggle of allegiances and a weighing of values. The past holds him with the bonds of old fellowships and of traditional inheritances while the future seems to lure him on to self-respect and advance. He looks back upon his condition which"in the words of the memorial presented to Mr. Montague at Bombay by the "'Depressed' Indian Association", is described thus:

> "Their social condition.....is so miserable that it is impossible to point out on the earth's surface any parallel to it. They are treated by the rest of the Indians - Hindus, Muhammedans, Jains, and all - as if they were worse than beasts. They are not allowed to live in villages or towns, they are deemed untouchables."[1]

And then he looks forward to a promised land of manhood and individual worth. The possibilities seem to lure him onward but dare he take the step and incur the displeasure of the members of the old society, of which he has so long been a member?

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1. Price, M. T.: Christian Missions and Oriental Civilization, p. 516

The step from the old to the new allegiance becomes far easier if there already is an instance of one who has taken he step. The sting of the first departure from the old controls is deadened, and the fear of the consequences of a tabooed action is somewhat lessened. If perchance it is possible to point to an acquaintance who has teken the step, the matter is much simpler. But so vital does the confliet become and so worthy the prospect of status that one is frequently led to hazard all the evils that the old group may present in order to enjoy the coveted status. As a case in point:

> "Two villagers from the paricherri of.....walked to the neighboring town of A..... and entered the bazaar. For years they had lived and worked together and the only difference between them was that of religion, for one was a Christian and the other a Hindu. Upon entering the bazaar row they stopped at a shop to make their purchase, as they had done many a time before. The shop was owned by a caste merchant. The one was invited into the shop and was given a seat while making his purchase, while the other was compelled to stand out at the roadside. The latter, realizing that he was doing what he had always done, began to question the deference shown his companion. The only difference between them was that his companion had joined the Christian community while he had remained outside, an outcaste in the Hindu society. To him this explained the whole situation. The member of the Christian group was recognized on a par with the caste men while he still held his place without the pale of the Hindu community."

And naturally his mind reviewed conditions that had occurred in recent months when the representatives of the Christian community had come to his village and he had heard them speak. He too had faced the issue more than once and had even considered his neighbor rash for taking this step of allegiance to the new community. Vividly there came to his mind

the picture of that Sunday morning:

> "All the village had gathered at the invitation of the Christian pastor. The place of meeting was the open spot in the centre of the village where all village gatherings were held. But on this particular day, when all were assembled the pastor announced that certain members of the village had decided to become Christians and asked that as their names were called they would come forward taking their seats near him. There had been about a dozen families that had responded and then he saw the pastor take a stick and draw a line around the smaller group. Having done this he turned to the assembled village and speaking to the smaller group had told them that they were now separated from their past, from their old life, and that a new life was theirs. Well did he recall the next words of the pastor for they extended another invitation to the members of the village to gather with the smaller group and to make the same decision. To him this ceremony had meant but little for after all his neighbor lived next to him as he had done before and all things seemed much the same."

But today that ceremony assumed a new aspect. It had indeed been a line of separation between his neighbor and himself in the values placed upon both of them by the Hindu as well as by the Christian communities. He now saw clearly that his neighbor had gained in the estimation of all by joining the new community, pHe had seen before him an act that has drawn more than one comment similar to this:

> "It is a curious fact that after outcastes have been baptized, Hindus themselves cease to regard them as Untouchables and they are received on the same footing as those who became Christians from within the castes."[1]

But he was not the only one interested in this fact. His interest was concerned with himself and with the experience of a friend. But the Hindu community too has an interest that has become one of vital concern for

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1. Fisher, H. B.: India's Silent Revolution, p. 101

Lajpat Raj is quoted as saying:

> "The possibility of losing the Untouchables has shaken the intelligent section of the Hindu community to its very depths and were it not for the long established prejudices and deep-rooted habits, Untouchableness would soon be a thing of the past....The Christian missionary is gathering the harvest and no blame can attach to him for doing so. He is in the country with a message of his God and if the Hindus forsake their own people, he in any case will not fail them. The depressed classes, as I have said, have no desire to leave Hinduism if the latter make it possible for them to progress on humane lines; but if in its stupidity it hesitates and hesitates, they are not willing to follow in its train any longer."[1]

Or again more pointedly in the following:

> "A non-Christian interested in establishing cooperative societies among the basket weavers in a certain section of the district, turned one day to his friend, a European missionary and said:' "If we do not do something for them, you will, and you will get them too. They will then be lost to us. We are therefore doing the best we can to help them.' - Interest in them was his message but that involved no social equality or recognition of the possible advancement of the outcastes. It rather took the form of a charitable feeling toward them."

And this state of affairs is known to the outcaste communities and at times whole communities of outcastes will ppenly demand certain privileges, threatening to become Christians if their requests are not granted.

And thus, not only is the urge for recognition a motive factor in the individual, but it likewise becomes a determining feature in the outcaste communities. Whereas individuals may feel some hesitancy toward taking the step that breaks old fellowships, whole villages or communities

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1. Fisher, H. B.: India's Silent Revolution, p. 97

may with impunity take the step. This is the feature to which M. T. Price makes reference:

> "A fundamental characteristic implied in the desire for group status, as it appears in these class movements, seems to be the reluctance of any large number of individuals, taken singly or in sub-groups, to separate themselves from their group in order to gain increased recognition. They want greater recognition than their group is now giving them; yet they are so dependent upon their group (for intra-group recognition and the conveniences of social life) that they cannot dispense with it, and breaking away from it is out of the question; they therefore have to lift their whole group in order to get it."[1]

And it explains the situation in the mass movements toward Christianity. The individuals in the outcaste community dare not take the step singly but the loss of several families from the community to Christianity is a situation that the whole village does not wish to face. Therefore after due consideration, it happens that the whole village comes over <u>en masse</u> for the thirst for recognition has stirred the whole community and it throws off the old controls for a new value within the Christian community.

Closely allied with the urge for recognition and status comes the prompting of the heart for protection. One notes on every hand the many responses that are made toward medical aid and other lines of guaranteed livelihood or security, resulting in avenues of friendship and approachability. We do not discount these reactions for they are frequently the initial stages of lasting friendship. And each association with the activities of the Christian community in social or humanitarian enterprises

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1. Price, M. T.: Christian Missions and Oriental Civilization, p. 319

is a partial committal of the individual or the community to the aim of the Christian group. The confidence of the people in the endeavors of the missionaries or of the Christian community in matters of child welfare or other humanitarian efforts is born out of years of experience when the doctors and nurses of the Mission stood by at times of ppidemics that threatened the cities or the villages.

But our attention is centred upon the satisfactions for security and protection that have become factors in the organization of the Christian community. The first of these is the protection from persecution, often in court cases. On more than one instance have individuals come to the leaders of the Christian community with their difficulties which have involved them in litigation. Frequently it is a matter of debts to the money-lender. They have borrowed and while they have been faithful in repayments, there has been a manipuhtion of accounts resulting in greater indebtedness. As a case in point

> "A woman needed some money and going to a money-lender borrowed the sum of Rs. 2.8.0 (approximately 80¢). She paid back four annas (8¢) per month regularly but at the end of two years she was Rs. 14.0.0 (nearly $5.00) in debt, due to two factors - an exorbitant rate of interest and her inability to pay off any part of the principal as under the conditions that could be paid off only in a lump sum."

When the part of such a person is taken and justice is secured in the court, the natural reaction is a transfer of allegiance from the old group, at whose hands she had received such treatment, to the new group whose -

interest was shown and whose power was efficacious for relief. And similar relief is sought in such cases as those wherein factor the old disparagements due to an outcaste appearing before a high caste judge, charged by a caste plaintiff.

A second type of protection that is sought comes in the matter of land grants. Under the provision of government, an assignment of pots of ground are made to members of the outcaste communities as village sites. Nevertheless considerable difficulty is often experienced in securing them and several of the outcaste communities have approached members of the Christian community pledging their willingness to join the new group in return for the aid in securing this or that plot of ground. This has sometimes followed a persecution attendant upon meetings in the villages, where the claims of the Christian religion were presented. An interesting case, typical of this type of protection is presented:

> "In a region where for forty years the work of the Christian community had been carried on but in which there were no resident groups of the community, a move was made to ask for assistance. Under the persecution and oppression at the hands of the landholders, members of the upper castes, life had become so unbearable that the members of the outcaste group were willing to leave the ancestral spot, leave the fields where they had worked, leave their sacred spots, and leave the group of which they had been members, to become members of the new group, could a spot be found where they could make a new start. It was not a coveted piece of ground but the chance to live that prompted them. Nor again was it at the dictate of promised help for the request for help came from the villagers themselves."

It was the primal urge for security and for a livelihood. This made imperative a change of life and the greater security was sought in the new

group, the Christian community.

A third type of this urge for protection presents itself in the security of employment. Beyond the matter of livelihood as such, is the matter of employment, not in return for joining the new group as a sort of reward for a benefit conferred but on the issue of greater security. This evidences itself in the insistence upon the type of employment, it being specified that this shall be "Mission employment", meaning thereby that the paymaster shall be the Mission or the Christian community. The reasons for this are twofold - 1. a security from the outside interference, from the whims of the landlord, from the persecution of the members of the upper grades of the old hierarchy, looms large in the mind of the convert. He knows too well that ill may be worked in ways that never see the sunlight, to members of outcaste groups and is perfectly frank when he gives this as his goal in joining the new group; and 2. closely allied with this is his choice of employment, for he desires the position of teacher, clerk, or helper in preference to the more menial tasks. This is often attributed to a hatred of manual labor. While that factor may enter in, one must not forget that for the new member of the group, the old scale of values still carries over. And so if by joining the new group he can become a member of a class or profession that has always had a high rating, even in the old group, he feels a double security.

A further indication of this urge for security we find in the attitude of the non-Christians who seek employment in the schools of the

Christian community, where such are managed by missionaries. Preference is expressed for employment in a mission school on the ground of greater security of employment and of less danger of bickering and petty perplexities due to caste distinctions. And if such is the case in the instances where the individuals are consciously entering employment under bodies that are undermining the very fabric of their own group, counting security of more value than freedom from some criticism, and than a more lucrative emolument, much greater is the claim of security upon members of the group which has rightly been termed "depressed". For the latter it means manhood and self-respect, recognition and status, and even existence with a promise of hope.

To be accounted of value in a scale of values that are current in one's group, and to have an assurance of permanency in such a scale, form one stroke of the social impulse to which the desire for affection or response is the completing arc. Whether it may be viewed an elemental(1) or as merely a particular interpretation of the desire for recognition (2), the fact remains that it reaches from the instinctive thrust of one's gesture to an interpretation socially defined as response or affection. It evidences itself most clearly in the earnest desire of the parent for the privileges of advancement for his children under this new Christian community. He eagerly reaches forth to claim the advantages of literary and cultural equipment for his child, feeling the propriety of such a claim as the expression of affection within the Christian community.

In a land where the educational situation seen in the paragraphs cited below, presents a fearful picture, this issue comes to the fore:

> "The figure of literacy in India is bound to be poor, because only 3.22% of the population is at school. But it is poorer even than this restricted spread of education would justify, because the time spent at school is in many cases insufficient to make a lasting impression. Of the boys undergoing elementary education in any kind of school, 88.9% are in the lower primary classes; and if both boys and girls are taken, 90% are in the lower primary and over 45% in the infant classes."[1]

And again:

> "It was calculated in the last review (1907-12) that in the average length of school life is 3.8 years. A similar calculation made for the period under review shows the figure for purpils in the primary stage again to be 3.8 years.... I am indebted to Dr. Walker, F. R. S., C. S. I., for the attention he has bestowed on the subject. While realizing the ineradicable difficulties presented by the figures, he calculates from the data that the educational efficiency has improved materially the period under review; for the average duration of the school life of those who left the course in the first year of the period was 3.6 years and during the last year 4.2 years."[2]

But further:

> "A simple calculation seems to show that 39% of the children relapse into illiteracy within five years of their leaving school."[3]

And in contrast to the dismal picture portrayed in the figures above stands this table:

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1. Quinquennial Report, 1912-17, p. 122
2. Ibid
3. Ibid, p. 121

Community	No. of Pupils in Boys Primary Schools	% of Male Pop. in Boys Schools	%of Increase of Decrease
1. Primary Schools			
* Indian Christians	132,385	11.7	16.0
Brahmans	504,347	7.6	6.9
Non-Brahmans	3,025,436	3.9	11.2
Muslims	1,146,664	3.8	24.0 [1]
2. Secondary Schools			
*Indian Christians	27,900	2.5	19.4
Brahmans	192,057	3.1	27.2
Non-Brahmans	421,888	0.5	35.8
Muslims	171,135	0.6	28.6 [2]

(*The percentages of the Christian community in the area of the Madras Presidency considered in this paper are far better than the averages for the figures for India given above, owing to the long existing and large work of Missions and to the more advanced Christian communities.)

And while it is perfectly true that the member of the outcaste community does not consider the figures in these tables, and undoubtedly is unaware of the percentages stated, the general insistence and emphasis upon educational facilities and advance in the Christian community attract him. For have not the children of his Christian neighbors risen to posts

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1. Quinquennial Report, 1912-17, p. 105
2. Ibid, p. 86

of value and rating through this process, and does not the member of this Christian group, possessing these capabilities rise in the general scales of values?

Therefore it is perfectly understandable that he, when faced by the conflict of the two groups, and their satisfactions, finds the provision for advance and training one definite feature in shaping his decision. To him the interest that the new group has in the progress of its membership in matters that make for social rating stands out prominently against the background of the former utter disregard of the interests of the "depressed" members of the hierarchy. The laws of society that operate in the new community are clothed in the warmth of personal values rather than in the cold legalistic enactment of a hierarchy dependent upon birth. And to one who has belonged to the lower stratum of society this means much more than toone whose rating has always been higher.

Another feature that deserves mention although space does not permit of full analysis, is the appeal of the type of instruction that is afforded. The vanguard in the effort to view matters from the aspect of life's values, finds among its number the managers of the mission schools. Early in the history of the educational effort there was emphasis upon the industrial aspects, in so far as the village industries could be utilized and plots of ground were sought to provide experimental spots for agricultural communities. These features tended to disarm that opposition to education which prevailed in many districts on the basis of the unsuitability of the

curriculum.[1] Not that the goal has been reached, but indications are clear that more interest is being aroused in the village pursuits and this indirectly has its bearing on the desire for response. (From the previous statement it must not be gathered that parents generally desire their children educated along the lines of their vocation, for the profession of clerk or teacher has a far higher rating and therefore is the more desirable.)

Perhaps another phase of this desire for affection is expressed in the location of the home. It is usually sought either on the mission compound or in the Christian section or street of the town. This is not merely a matter of security but the desire for comradeship and association. It means an exchange of intimacies which would be impossible in the sections of the town where there is a more heterogeneous grouping. It is the feeling of being among one's own kind and of being able to contribute as well as to receive tokens of mutual confidence and regard. This urge that expresses itself in the social response may not be fully realized until for some reason a member of the Christian community is forced to leave the immediate vicinity of Christian homes. He may have the privilege of a better house in a vicinity where there are fellow-workers from the same office, but he feels that it is a move for the worse and perhaps even pines for the old rdationships.

Thus there rises before the mind of the member of the outcaste community a prospect of promise with its glow of better things. But along

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1. Quinquennial Report, 1912-17, p. 124

with it rises the inhibition of the old relationships, the fear of some disaster should he break through the old controls, and the dread of maledictions that are sure to be heaped upon him. The conflict becomes vital. But the lure of the satisfactions of manhood and self-respect, of security, and of a better life for his children tip the balance and he breaks from the old restraints and enters the Christian community. Thus have reasoned and have acted the thousands that today form the Christian community. It is for satisfactions such as these that men and women have turned their backs upon Hinduism and have entered the community formed about the foreign missionaries. And in so far as their satisfactions were realized and their lives were incorporated within the new group, joy and happiness followed and the community became more firmly knit together. This however became the problem as the younger generations came to voice their opinions and to assert the right of participating in the formation of policies. Unacquainted with the factors that had formed the community they often sought goals that introduced perplexing situations for the older members of the community, and thus arose the need of conserving old ideals and principles, the fundamentals of group life.

2. The Conservation of the Community.

The integration within the new group has marked one stage of the history of the convert, but there remains an all important factor, foreshadowed in the promise of the satisfaction held out to the prospective

member of the new community, and realized only in the security of the group itself. It is not alone the quest for individual security and assurance, with all that such a quest means in the realm of control and association with a foreign folk, important as that certainly is within the new community, but it is the security and status of the Christian community itself in the total environing society of the land. Merely to be a member of a new community with the satisfactions of that group does not complete the desire of the members of the community for they are ambitious that the group of which they are members shall maintain its place in the scale of social groupings prevalent at the time. Concisely stated, the problem of conservation of the victories gained from the status attainment of the individual members now forming the Christian community, and of the transfer of this dignity and self-respect to the community as a body, recognized by the other communities, becomes central in the attention of the Christian community. Its activities are directed to this end and its watchword becomes "Communal Achievement".

There are two factors that have entered into the Christian community; the old ratings and values that had been the heritage of the new members in the hierarchy of Hinduism, and the cultural trends that have been carried from the western world through the missionaries. Freed from the old hindrances under which the members had lived under the rules and restrictions of the caste order, there now arose liberties in the new order that became of greatest worth. The new status that has been accorded, the

security and protection of the individual family, the consciousness of being human beings whose affections are sought, and the feature of a new type of control, are principles which are knit in these new associations within the newly formed community, and from which no member will permit himself to be separated. These must be conserved at all costs and they become the fundamental rights of the community. For them men are willing to sacrifice even life itself. This then builds around the members a protective wall of public opinion which serves both to shut out the rest of the world, and to close in the members of the group.

But within the new community is the nucleus of foreigners whose existence seems a guarantee of these privileges and whose presence seems absolutely essential to the life of the community. Therefore, it is easily seen that those who had become estranged from the old hierarchy of Hinduism by their decision to become Christians, readily linked themselves and their ambitions to a foreigner; and that class of foreigners was closely associated with the class that rules the motherland. The separation from their countrymen was not looked upon as a disaster. Rather protection from them and their persecutions seemed all-important. And consequently the bond of allegiance uniting the Indian Christian and the foreign missionary soon gave way to a sense of possession of the foreigner and of the right to partial domination of him, as a member of the Christian community. This feeling seemed to outweigh any feeling of repugnance toward him as a foreigner. In fact the actions and even the attitudes of

the missionary became subject to the approval of the group and a foreigner who tends to break away from conventional lines is open to admonition.

The conservation of these two lines of heritage with all that each brings produces a consciousness of integrity within the group. The Christian community begins to look upon itself as a group unique in its make-up and prestige. Its ratings of itself are really higher than would be the case were it merely a group incorporated in the hierarchy of Hinduism for it considers itself the receptacle of two channels of cultural progress. In fact such is the case and it is both its communal strength and its avenue of disintegration leading to a progressive development along lines decidedly nationalistic, at a later period of the community's history.

The first reaction of the new community is that of protection of its integrity. This shows itself in the erection of a wall of security from which it shoots its bitter attacks upon other groups. Feeling the confidence of its own integrity derived through its inheritances of cultures, it takes its stand upon what it feels to be the estimate of the old group, Hinduism, toward itself. There arises a situation in which there are factors of defence to which Dr. Price makes the following reference:

> "Protective responses are normally made when there is molestation, attack, deprivation of interests, or uncertainty as to whether or not there may be either attack of maintenance or interests."[1]

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1. Price, M. T.: Christian Missions and Oriental Civilizations, p. 327

And a feeling akin to that mentioned in the following quotation arises in the consciousness of the member of the new community:

> "It is said that the comparatively limited support(in money at any rate) given in India to the movement on behalf of the Indians in South Africa is due to the fact that so many Hindus have no sympathy with the man who sacrifices his caste by crossing the Kala pani (black water, the sea) and settling in the land of the Mlechchas (foreigners)."[1]

For as a parallel, it is recognized that there will be no sympathy shown to those who have crossed the barriers of social life and have settled in the community whose nucleus is foreign and whose character has become more foreign than Indian. For in the eyes of the social world, the Christian community has become practically another caste, however greatly the tenets of the community may be opposed to caste. Note the following comment:

> "The whole idea of caste is abhorrent to Mohammedanism which preaches, more effectively than Christianity, the equal brotherhood of all believers. But the South Indian Mohammedans are just another caste; so are the Europeans and the Indian Christians."[2]

And in the face of anticipated opposition, whether such an expectation is well founded as in the case of the outcaste or merely imagined, the attitude of defence provides a separatistic aspect that counters the attitude of opposition on the part of the Hindu society. An article that has just appeared in the D. A. V. College Union Magazine reveals this element of separatism:

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1. Archer: India and the Future, p. 108
2. Slater, G.: The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, p. 184

"Christianity remains here as a separate religion owing to the initial mistake of the early European missionaries who, according to Abbe du Bois employed as servants, Pariahs, ate the flesh of dead cows, and got themselves dubbed as Mlechchas. Mohammedanism keeps itself distinct and aloof by its deep ignorance of the meaning of the Koran and the fanaticism born of such ignorance. Both these religions are in for conversion. The lower strata of society oppressed by the caste system which denies them the elementary rights of man, of approach to his brother, the use of the public roads, tanks, wells, and even schools, seek social freedom by conversion..... Hinduism of Vedic religion alone not only remains idle but is ready to ostracize anyone for the slightest breach of meaningless superstition."[1]

And again:

"The early Christians were accused of being bad citizens, unpatriotic members, as was said, of a 'third race', with no relationship to the existing races..... Dr. Narayan Seshadri said of himself: "I am just a dark Scotchman'. If he was, he was one of whom his new country could very well be proud, but that meant that he was cut off from all the riches of his national inheritance, a stranger and an alien in his ownland. So it was also with so great a Christian, and one so able to appreciate her country's heritage, ad Pandita Ramabai.... ....Hinduism was for this great Christian saint simply 'the power of darkness and from it the Christian could obtain nothing good.'"[2]

Or to add another evidence:

"The general attitude of the people to Christian preaching is one of antagonism. It does not need much imagination to see why there should be this opposition. The missionary comes apparently as the enemy of the ancient Hindu faith. His aims seem to threaten its institutions which to the vast majority of the people are their most sacred heritage, on which their hopes in life and death

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1. Verma, M. Rama: in The Modern Review, May, 1925, p. 563
2. Macnicol, N.: Young Men of India, March, 1925, p. 134

> depend and to which they cling with exceptional tenacity. Behind the missionary is the whole strength of the British Rule making his person invéolable. His presence brings defilement. The flesh of the sacred cow forms his diet and to the ignorant strong wine is his drink. In the eyes of the people he is the habitual companion and champion of the low castes, whom the Hindu sense of ceremonial purity keeps without the village site. The Indian Christian Evangelists do not suffer from all these disadvantages but on account of their connection with the European and as those who have broken with the Hindu social system they have to face difficulties almost equally great.[1]

The process of consolidating the Christian community into a body that shall be recognized by the other communities commences with an attitude of attack upon the old customs and practices. It is the natural reaction on the part of one who finds himself freed from burdensome restrictions; he expresses his freedom in terms of esuperiority to the old ways. He seeks to pick flaws in the old regime and thus centres his attention upon attacking the old satisfactions and old controls. But as a counteraction to this polemic attitude there is the increasing interest in the Christian community itself, expressing itself in the demand for special privileges and in the insistence upon uniformity within the community itself. And this naturally has led to the feeling of complacence, akin to that experienced by the initials in a secret organization, when it is recognized that his voice counts in the council of direction. These are features by which the Christian community endeavors to preserve its own unity and to satisfy the desires of its members. But the horizon still remains communal as opposed to national in the matter of achievement and objective.

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1. Datta, S. K.: The Desire of India, p. 195

a. The Polemic Attitude.

From such an environment and from the general atmosphere of opposition there arose this attitude of defence. But a further step shows itself in the reference to Pandita Ramabai[1], who in her earlier life had learned the religious tenets of Hinduism and had sought for satisfactions in various channels and at last had elected to ally herself with the Christian community. That she should have referred to Hinduism as "the power of darkness and from it the Christian could obtain nothing good", seems almost incredible. It however is an evidence of the counter-attitude that arises in the Christian community when faced with opposition or oppressed with the fear of persecution. Naturally the counter-attack comes to the fore, decrying everything that has been connected with the old and appraising all that comes with the new.

This attitude of attack is one of the commonest in the new convert for he feels that by decrying the community which he has left he is the more firmly fixed in the new. While it does provide certain satisfactions that make his choice seem valid to him, such an attack makes more unlikely any compromise attitude on his part and thus tends to stabilize the new group. This conservation that grows out of such an attitude has been the basis of the street address of condemnation of the practices of Hinduism, of holding up to scornthese old practices, and even of speaking

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1. Young Men of India, March, 1925. p. 134

in most insulting terms of the deities that formerly palyed an important part in the life, even of this new member. That books have been written that provide instruction in this type of conservation is not new in the records of the Indian Christian Community.

Further not only is this separatistic attitude polemic but it tends to affect various phases of the life of the members of the Christian community. In the choice of homes, to which reference was made under the previous section[1], the separatistic element of isolation comes prominently to the fore. But it does not stop here for it so decries the past and all the heritages of the Hindu life that it has sought to forget its old connections with the purer of the old elements. Indeed a sad picture is this:

> "The first missionaries of whatever sect, inculcated a holy horror of those things which express the spirit of India. Perhaps the knowledge of such things available in European languages was not at that time adequate as a basis for a just estimate of values. Perhaps it was all due to the natural solicitude to protect the infant church from the contamination to which it would be exposed along with the good elements of Indian tradition. Whatever the reason, it is true that every effort was made to warn the community and to train the children in the 'proper' attitude. This 'horror' got softened in course of time and became 'suspicion'.
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> Ask any of them (Christians from the older communities of South India) a question in folklore, in art, in literature, or in religion. Their ignorance will be found to be not only as profound as if they had been born in mid-Arabia, but their suspicion of it as prejudiced... .....How can it be otherwise? Folklore is not what is studied but what is drunk in with the mother's milk

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1. Vide supra, p. 87

> breathed in the earliest atmosphere of the home. Rama, Sita, and Bharata, Bhima and Arjuna, Harischandra Shakuntala, Sivaji, and a host of others, are these not the heroes of our early youth, of whom our grandmothers told us near the flickering lamp in the gloaming, of whom we heard ballads sung in the village street, sitting under the moon as the breezes shook the trees overhead and wove fancy settings for the stories? Are these verses still in our blood?.....The missionary introduced the folklore of the Hebrews, an enrichment of unspeakable value to young minds. The pity is that he entirely ruled out Indian folklore."[1]

And yet this cannot all be laid at the door of the missionary. There is without question the element of security in the preservation of the integrity of the new community that caused much attack on the old, and anything that savoured of the undesirable in the old. The test was not applied with any degree of care but anything that might perchance introduce any contact with the old should be ruled out as being of darkness. Nevertheless it is a sad state that the Christian community allowed so great a heritage to slip from its grip. It is understandable but regrettable.

That such has been the attitude of the Christian community comes out clearly in the paragraph in the Modern Review of January, 1925, entitled"Anti-Christian", from which a few sentences have been taken:

> "More than one Christian person has written to the editor of this Review, asking complainingly why it is or has become anti-Christian. We do not feel called upon to answer this question. But we have some counter-questions ready. The editor of this journal is not and never has been or pretended to be a Christian. The journal also never was, nor was

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1. Paul, K. T.: How Missions Denationalise, I. R. M. Vol. 8, p. 511

> ever intended to be a Christian journal. So we do not see why it should be expected to be pro-Christian or even neutral: fair we have always tried to be. We will take it for granted that this monthly is anti-Christian, and on that assumption ask, are Christians pro-Hindu or pro-Muslim? On the contraty, if they are pious Christians, are they not anti-Hindu and anti-Mualim, at least to the extent that they want all Hindus and Muslims to become converts to Christianity?.....It is strange that having a thousand and one means of criticising all non-Christian faiths, and having criticized them for centuries, Christians should feel aggrieved when their faith is subjected to criticism.[1]

In other words, during the last one hundred years the Christian community has earned for itself a place in but not of the national life. It has claimed for itself a sufficienty that has left no desire for participation with the other communal groups and has been recognized as having no interest in a world beyond its own. And this place has been characterized as a polemic attitude toward the rest of the Indian society, in that for the preservation of the integrity of its own community, it has assumed an attitude of non-interest in, and frequently of deliberative and severe attack upon elements of the old heritage, even to the extent of abandoning and disowning the literature and folklore with its charm and splendid didactic possibilities. The very remarks that drop from the lips of the Christian youth as he passes comment upon the prevailing customs of the non-Christians, savour of scorn, arising out of ignorance and lack of sympathy with the Indian cultural heritage that could mean so

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1. The Modern Review, January, 1925, p. 98

much for him.

b. The Self-Interest Attitude

As a corollary to the polemic attitude and as an expression of the conservative function of the Christian community there has arisen a self-interest attitude. By this attitude is meant the insistence upon priority claims in behalf of the Christian community, and upon the severe exclusion of others from such benefits. The end sought in this insistence was consolidation of the group rather than an extension of the application of the Christian principles, to other communities. One would not term this attitude a selfish attitude for that would apply an epithet that is by no means always present. But in using the term "Self-interest", one wishes to portray the "in-group" interest that so frequently operates within the community; one is perfectly aware of the close resemblance that this bears to the selfish attitude but wishes to avoid an unpleasant connotation.

As perhaps one of the most pressing insistences of the Christian community today is upon the advancement of its own members, we wish to note the demand for the Christian Residential Schools. This insistence upon a school in which the Christians shall have almost the exclusive attention of the teachers, is based upon the cultivation of a value that has

rating in the total social environment. The education of the children of the community within a school environment which is Christian in the personnel of the teachers, in the enrollment of the school, and in the atmosphere of the school as well as in the boarding home, is the cry of many in the Christian community. It is an effort to create an atmosphere, unrelated to the actual environment in which the Christian youth lives, in which to train the youth, neglecting to a very large extent the Indian heritages of the Indian Christian lad. This cry has found expression, in one instance, in the establishment of a Christian Residential School, which after approximately four years of trying experiment, has been adopted by the National Missionary Society, an organization that is functioning as an indigenous project in fields not already occupied by foreign missions.

That the establishing of such an institution, within any one mission's direction, would curtail much more extensive work and would to a great extent cancel much of its forward evangelical aim is considered valid in the benefits that are expected from such inter-pollenization. And that there would accrue from institutions wherein the members of the Christian community rub shoulders with members from non-Christian groups, a benefit in a quickened heritage and in a nationalistic vision, if recognized, is considered of far less value than the integration of the next generation in the nurture process of the Christian community. Again to the fore comes the emphasis upon the prominence of community values and the conservation of these values in the complete control of the process of education. (It is true that there are some spirits that would broaden the curriculum

sufficiently to include some phases of Indian national literature, art, and music; indeed a wholesome feature and tending toward a new interpretation of Christianity).

Closely allied with this self-interest was an instance in which the matter of salaries was involved:

> "Under the pressure of the Christian community in that locality, the managers of the mission schools agreed that any Christian who was employed should receive the sum of Rs. 5.0.0 ($1.67) per mensem above the salary paid to a non-Christian employed for doing the same work. This was to be paid on the score of his being a Christian. But further, the provision was made for the payment of Rs. 5.0.0 per mensem above that sum to a Christian who was a member of the local missionary organisation. This meant that the member of the local missionary organisation would receive Rs. 10.0.0 per mensem above the equally qualified non-Christian for the performance of the same task."

Needless to state, this action resulted in considerable comment in other schools where both Christians and non-Christians were employed. That the general opinion was against it is an indication of a healthier security beginning to dawn in the minds of the total Christian group.

> "In another instance the following situation arose:
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> "Under pressure again from the community all the non-Christian teachers who had been serving in the High School (some of them for twenty years and during a period when the Christian community had not been able to provide its own graduates for the High School classes) received notices that their services would no longer be required as their places would be filled with Christian appointees. For many of the older men this spelt little prospect of securing another post for they had given their

> best years to an institution in which their appointment was considered 'permanent'."

And shortly afterward this was followed by an action introduced in a body composed of Indian Christians and foreigners - not the same body referred to in the illustration just given - proposing that no Christian could be dismissed from service. Assuredly this was a guarantee sought, that savoured of self-interest for it was a "carte blanche" pledge of employment. And when contrasted with the action referred to above, which factored in the sentiment that led to the latter action, an interesting portrait is given of the conserving process within certain sections of the Christian community. Not that it should be inferred that these instances occur each year but often enough have they occurred to warrant the statement that it is indicative of one trend in the Christian community.

Perhaps an instance of the self-interest which went so far as to dictate the action of a foreign member of the community will bring the matter clearly before one:

> "On one occasion, in fact on Christmas day, the foreigner had made a point of meeting every member of the immediate group with which he was associated, who was a Christian, and of wishing him the greetings of the day. Toward evening he felt constrained to call upon a few of the non-Christian associates to bring to them the greetings of the day. And as he closed the day he felt happy in the way the day had been spent. But he was surprised to find that his action had been valued far differently by the Christian community, for it had been interpreted as indicative of a greater regard for the non-Christiangroup than for the Christian group, inasmuch as he had gone out of his way to extend these greetings to the non-Christians while he met the Christians at the church in the morning."

Or another incident in which the prestige of the community and its sense of security in its power to control the action of the members of its own group were called into question:

> "A youth of the .....caste, one of the high castes in the locality, had come to a member of the Christian community and signified his intention of joining the Christian group. He was told of what consequences would probably follow but he stillmaintained his desire to unite with the group, accepting however the advice of postponing the initiatory rite for some time. He took up his residence in the home of one of the members of the group but took his meals at one of the restaurants. He was financed in this by a loan from the Christian community and he was awarded a scholarship at the school he was attending, hoping to complete his course.
>
> At the time of the final examinations it was found that he did not qualify for promotion for want of many marks and therefore he was detained along with others of his class who had scored greater and smaller percentages than his, but all failing of passing. In fact his case was individually considered at the time of promotion and the committee of promotion had decided that it would be unfair to alter standards to allow this one youth to pass.
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> But as soon as the list of promotions was published the manager of the school was visited by various members of the Christian community requesting an exception in the case of this youth on the ground of his interest in the community and to eliminate a disappointment that might prove too great for him. Pressure of fellow foreigners was brought to bear upon the manager to secure this end. But when finally the manager agreed to make an exception in the case of this youth on the basis of being permitted to publish in writing the exact reason for the exception, the better judgment prevailed and the request was withdrawn."

It meant, however, a severe strain for certain of the leaders of the community to withdraw their request for it meant that this security and

control on which they had counted and of which they had assured the youth, had not been effective. And the leaders of the community had seen that such preferment in the case of the one youth would lay open to charge of underhanded means the whole range of contacts between the Christian community and the other communities, or individuals of the other communities. That this decision raised the value of the community in its own estimation as well as in that of the other communities is not to be questioned, when the period of contemplation of the action arrived, but in the interim there was a feeling of broken control.

This interest which sought to conserve the integrity of the community by securing the priority do privileges and by dictating the conduct of the foreign members of the community, crystallized in the following phrase which in one group became current almost to the extent of having a magical implication:

> "As Britain for the British, and America for the Americans, so all the high salaried posts in the .....mission must be awarded to the children of the said mission."

This interest became so dominant that the priority of this small group of the "children of the mission" was claimed over other groups of the Christian community. It was not a matter of merit but a matter of rightful award and the process of self-pollenization was advanced thereby.

Needless is it to mention the narrowness with which problems of national import were viewed. There was but one criterion and that the issue of the self-interest as interpreted by the immediate community.

For the aim of the whole nurture process as far as it was dominated by the will of the community seemed to focus at the point of the preservation of the integrity of the community and of the group attitude of self-sufficiency. As a natural consequence of this attitude there developed a social rating of the community, not in the light of the total social environment, but in the opinion of the group itself of what that rating ought to be. Its result could be no otherwise than a greater separation from the contemporary groups in the national life and a more complete isolation from the real contacts of life.

C. The "Magical Circle" Attitude

As a counter-movement to that of inclusion on the part of the Christian community there early arose in the nation at large a greater consciousness of the abilities and potential power that western culture and training brought. And as a consequence of this consciousness the messengers of the foreign culture in the personnel of the missionaries were regarded by the outside groups as those from whom these abilities might be learned. Schools were thronged and opportunities were sought to come into closer contacts with the representatives of the foreign western lands. And the representatives of these foreign cultures rated higher for that reason alone. There were no confusions between the ruling powers and the representatives of the cultural features although both might have come from the same country. This being the situation there was a

growing demand for western methods and skill, which in turn raised the values of those who possessed these abilities.

And this naturally had its reaction on the members of the Christian community for they recognised that they had priority claims upon the time and the attention of the representatives of these western ways. In fact they were fellowmembers of a community whose heritage was composed of an Indian past and a culture from the west, whose influence because of the personnhl of its representatives was perhaps the stronger in the resulting culture of the new, the Christian geeup. It dawned upon the members of the new group that there was within their own midst a potential power which would give to them prestige and rating in so far as this prestige attached to the foreigners could be applied to the entire group. And through the association with the foreigners, this superior feature was asserted.

But with the same conserving view in mind, there was the express desire to be within the inner group of control, to be members of committees in whose hands were the programs for advances that might be made to mediate the achievements of the western world to the other groups of the Indian folk. This attitude of mind was expressed dramatically by an Indian when congratulating another upon his nomination to such a committee, for he was now said to be "within the magical circle". This inner point of vantage meant not only prestige but power and the privilege of direction of policies. Thereon hinged the preservation of the integrity of the community

over against the more liberal policy that might carry the foreigner to terms with the demands of the other communities, or permit some of their own number to venture too far afield.

An incident that perhaps brings the issue clearly to the fore is this:

> "In a body, composed of Indians and foreigners about equal in number, in which the Indians were elected on the basis of representation covering the various phases of work, and the foreigners were only those in charge of definitely assigned work, was vested the administrative control of what had formerly been mission work. There were a number of graduates working under the direction of this body but who had no seat in the council. Consequently as a group these graduates petitioned for seats on the basis of every graduate being accorded a seat ex-officio. Realizing that the power was vested in the body, they were not satisfied with representation but insisted upon full membership for themselves, although they were a small minority of the whole body of Christians concerned."

It was the lure of being on the inner councils that prompted their action. And one step further is an evidence of the same trend of emphasis and desire:

> "In this same body, during the first year of its function, the office of president was being reserved for an Indian. But one of the Indians spoke up and said: 'We see very well that the offices that bear practically no power and responsibility are given us. We do not want to be puppets. Let an Indian fill the secretary's post and have full access to all correspondence.'"

The years of experience that the missionaries had had in matters of administration seemed to count for but little as long as there was an inner citadel that had not been occupied by the non-foreign member of the

community. That jealousies rose between those who were on the councils and those who had not yet achieved the privilege, as was perfectly natural. But all these are indications of the thirst for the inner shrines of power and influence.

And this desire to be on the inside of matters naturally led on to the demands for greater autonomy within the Christian community itself, not only in the matter of church polity and mission field comity, but in the policies and programs of the local mission groups. And herein the two trends, that which was considered in the historical survey of the Mission development and devolution, and the subtler process of communal life, blend into one progressive movement toward an Indian church and Indian community. The entering wedge of advisory powers on matters of moment and of membership on committees concerned with the type of work in which groups of the Christian community were engaged, was used to assert claims for complete control, extending not only to general policies but to the final judgment upon all phases of work, upon the administration of funds, both indigenous and foreign, and upon the assignment of work to members of the community, both Indian and foreign. This position would afford an opportunity to control all progress and activity for the preservation of the community against the ingress of other ideas and customs than those that had grown up in the history of the community since its inception. And herein has the policy of devolution played its part. It had made possible the transfer of powers formerly vested in the body of foreign representatives by the constituency in the home land, to a new

body in which the membership is about evenly divided between Indians and foreigners.

The phase of the development just referred to is treated of in the chapter on Devolution. It affords a step wherein all control is removed from the representatives of the foreign constituency and is placed upon an indigenous body. When one says that all control is thus vested, he does not forget that there is a final form of control that the home constituencies still have in the withholding of the money, which under the scheme of devolution assumes the form of a subsidy, turned over in lump grant to the administration of the indigenous church body. And naturally the control of important administration is considered the inner citadel within which the member of the Christian community seeks to find himself.

When viewed from the angle of integration and the scope of devolution, the feature of conservation forms a goal toward which history has been working. The Christian community exists and is aware of its existence - a glowing achievement upon years of earnest, painstaking effort. It is recognised as an integral community by the other communities of India's society. And thus the goal seen by the early missionaries is being attained. Their dream has been partially realized and the community stands as a monument of the power of Christianity. It is the end if conservation is a final process and if the integration of the Christian community closes the story of a wonderful experiment. But such is not the fact. The unity of the Christian community is not the conclusion of

the process. It is but the vantage point of advance. If the achievement of the missionary enterprise has been a united community raised from the lower strata of India's society to a point of self-respect and recognition by the other communities, the task of the Christian community now becomes a service of the Motherland and an integration of itself more fully into the national life of India. The heritages of the Christian Church have become the possession of the Christian community in South India, and in turn through her they can be interpreted to fit into the life of the folk of India. Without this complementary process the community remains isolated and alone, untouched by the seething national life, and unproductive of any vital factor for the life of the land of its birth. Thus the unifying process that has been going on in the Christian community passes over to the nationalizing process of contribution and participation in soul stirring experiences from which will come a richer India.

b. The Nationalizing Process of the Christian Community.

The unifying process of the Christian community saw the inception and the solidification of the group, provided the satisfactions that became the answers to the elemental urges of life and then sought to preserve these achievements for the benefit of the community. And in a similar way the community of Christians, finding that the satisfactions, that had been gained, separated them from the society of their land, reached out in search for a union with the other communities of their native land. The

search brought the challenge of the possible adoption of certain features that would provide a working basis whereby the Christian community could find itself within the pale of national aspirations and endeavors. It proves to be almost a counterpart of the unifying process. The goal is status and recognition in a group whose value is approved of; in the first case this group was one that brought western skills and western culture; in the second it is the group of national character with the inheritance of age-long literary and religious wealth.

Thus the process whereby the Christian community becomes part of the national life involves two phases of development: the first is concerned with a re-evaluation of the factors that go to make up community status in the light of conditions that have altered under the permeating influence of a western culture that has reached far into the recesses of Hinduism and altered many of the conceptions once firmly held; while the second presents the Christian community having seen the vision of a participation with the life about it, seeking to incorporate many of the practices that have become part of the fabric of the national life. The first stage represents the measurement of the Christian community by the standards approved by the non-Christian communities, while the second stage throws the focus upon the heritage of the non-Christian past which affords a means of expression for the Christians, desirous of being really Indian in their communal life. That the expression of their life in true Indian terms will have a bearing upon the place that this Christian community is

capable of playing in the national arena, is perfectly clear. There are indications that once the Indian Christian community has begun to think and act in a real Indian way, the next step of larger participation in the aspiration of the national order will follow readily. It is thus that we pass on to consider the phases of re-evaluation in the light of national standards prevalent in the Indian society, and of assimilation of the customs that constitute an indigenous expression of the Christian community's life.

1. The Re-evaluation in the Christian Community.

The situation as defined for persons of the pioneer age and group or community is not the situation that faces the second generation. Nor can it be surmised that the issues that have been instrumental in the formation of the community remain the prime forces in guaranteeing its existence. Features that seemed absolutely essential in the security of the community to its founders or to the members of earlier generations lose their absolutism in the estimation of their successors. New features enter and new standards of issue rise to determine a new situation. And again the braver spirits bridge the gap into the "taboo", endure the trials and dangers of the forbidden sweets, and return as new and stronger spirits; stronger not in the narrow sense of bigotry maintained by an isolated community but in a communal patriotism that sees service for

the community where formerly seclusion was heralded, and companionship where complete separation held sway. Moreover these spirits have seen what little impress their community has made upon outside communities and how their community, being secure unto itself, was left unto itself almost entirely. It was startling to note that possessions considered unique and absolutely private were paralleled in the larger national group, and this called for serious self-examination on the part of the broader and braver spirits.

In the following quotation we have the results of some of these meditations:

> "The Indian Church has failed on the whole to produce a distinctive theology capable of reaching the minds and hearts of the people. The religious history of India would lead us to look for something of this kind. Yet the nearest approach to a distinctively Indian interpretation of Christ has come from a non-Christian sect, the Brahmo-Samaj. The cause is not far to seek. Indian Christianity is as yet a western product in the process of being grafted on to India. The children of converts know little of and care less for the whole heritage of Indian thought and religion. They are brought up with a stock of Christian ideas in a society of their own. The conversion of their parents has severed all the old relationships....New interpretations of Christian doctrine will scarcely be possible till the intellectual level of the Indian church is raised either by greater accessions from the Brahman class or by an extraordinary development of the mind of the outcaste people who form the bulk of the Christian community."[1]

And again from a European whose heart beats for the welfare of the Indian Church:

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1. Datta, S. K.: The Desire of India, p. 255

"I wish to give a little thought to the question of how this church is to view the history, the literature, the philosophy, the religious aspirations of the land to which it belongs, and into which, I trust, it has struck deep roots. Is it a complete alien in this land, in it but not of it, belonging to another country, a country not of this world? Or can it, while indeed its citizenship is in heaven, realize and rejoice in its national home here and accept with pride and thankfulness every good gift that comes to it from its past, even if that be a 'heathen past? These are the questions that are closely bound up with the call to duty and to service of our fellows. For it we have no pride in our land and our people, no sense of indebtedness to those who have gone before us, the sense of duty to our fellows will be by so much weakened. If we have no enthusiasm for our country's past we are the less likely to feel a strong desire to make her future better."[1]

Or further from the same author:

"The younger Christian leaders are no longer afraid of that in Hinduism and its philosophy which has never revealed its deceitful glamour to them. Perhaps they are too little afraid of it. For them Giant Pagan is already a toothless, old scarecrow of whom they have no reason to stand in awe....They will garner into their treasury all that is precious in the inheritance of their people with no doubt or misgivings as to its being mingled with poison. That is the new attitude that the Indian Christian leaders are taking and I think that properly guarded it is the right attitude. But at the same time it will need much wisdom on the part of the Indian Christian nationalist to discern the spirits, to see to it that he separates the precious from the vile in his Indian inheritance. He will need to be careful lest what happened during the Renaissance in Europe happens here and along with the Indian spirit there enters into the Christian church the pagan spirit and pagan modes of worship and thought."[2]

In these expressions we have the views of some of the more venturesome of the community but, it is gratifying to note, of a large division of the community. The old isolation and self-sufficiency of the community

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1. Macnicol, N.: The Young Men of India, March, 1925, p. 133
2. Ibid. p. 134

that sought its security in raising the wall of inclusion as well as the barrier of exclusion, tends to break and in fact has broken in the experience of the braver and more venturesome spirits under the stress of forced contacts with the other communities, facilitated by the greater ease of travel, by the unavoidable feature of comparison when such contacts took place, and by the impersonal investigation of credentials and purposes. No longer did the community find, if heeding the reports of its more venturesome members, that it held a monopoly on even the western peculiarities and distinctive elements of a contribution to a family of nations.

And on the other hand it found itself possessed of the common factors in a greater or more effective degree so that the very possession became the basis of cooperative service within the national thirst for integrity. And further the resultant of these bits of knowledge developed a distinct re-evaluation based upon the possession of approved assets rated high in the total Indian society, upon cooperative experiences in which shoulder to shoulder with members of the other communities the inclusive lines became obliterated, and upon a recognition of mutual treasures in heritage, in satisfactions and aims. The common features could not but tend to break down barriers that no longer seemed as essential to the members of the Christian community. When the barriers seemed of less value than the object from which it separates, the barrier comes down and free intercourse results. And out of the experience inaugurated by the braver spirits, the Christian community finds a new life in discovering the

capabilities in factors highly appraised by the national ideals of the day, in realising that it can live in a happy comradeship with the members of the non-Christian communities, and in reassuring itself that it is of the same blood after all and thus possessed of mutual treasures.

a. The Approved Abilities.

The Reform Scheme introduced in 1919, known as the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms, giving a larger share of autonomy to the provinces as well as to the imperial government, gave a strong impetus to the cause of education. New bills were introduced and all institutions were subjected to investigations that have led to reconstitutions that make for greater efficiency. Among these as pertaining to the area of our survey, we would mention the Madras Elementary Educational Bill of 1920, with the provisions for compulsory education and a reconstruction of the curriculum; and the new University Bill providing for the reorganization of the Madras University, prescribing the constitution of a new Senate, a Council of Affiliated Colleges, and an Academic Council, each making more possible the voice of the people of the Presidency. But these steps mean a great deal more in that primary education was made a transferred subject, and secondary education became so very shortly, under the direction of an Indian Minister, whose tenure of office depends upon his holding his seat in the Legislative Council to which body his is answerable. It is needless to remark that such revolutionary measures created an impetus to the matter of education

that left no section of the presidency untouched.

And immediately the Christian community found itself possessed of an asset that had become universally of high rating. Education became the watchword among folk everywhere and the drive both on the part of the people and on the part of the department was for greater facilities for education. (It must not be understood that the definition of the aim was the same in the eyes of the department that it was in the minds of the people, for frequently to the latter it meant greater taxation and questions arose of the practicability of the curriculum as prescribed by the department as contrasted with the old "vernacular" scheme in which "slokas" from the sacred literature, and "bazaar" arithmetic held the place of prominence.)

But the figures that were presented earlier in this paper[1] now assume a forceful meaning. The Christian community rated higher than did the other communities of the Presidency in the matter of literacy and thus a new value was attained. For while the percentages for the literacy of the Christian community of India is given at 22% as over against the Muslim at 4% and the Hindus at 6%,[2] it must be borne in mind that South India Christianity is by far the strongest section of the whole Christian community, ranging from certain groups where the percentage approximates 60% to areas such as the three districts selected in about the central section of South India, where the percentage is about 15%[3]. But in a similar

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1. Vide supra p. 85
2. The Inter-Church Survey, Foreign Vol. p. 103
3. Census of India, 1911, Vol. xii, p. 129

way the percentages of the non-Christian groups vary and thus the ratio of this capacity leaves the Christian group in the lead, due in part to the prominent part that foreign missionaries have played in the educational programs of the Christian community.[1]

But this capacity comes to the fore when the matter of English education is considered. This has proven the passport to posts in the offices for years, and it is due to this insistence in the mind of the Indian of the South that there has developed a topheavy scheme of education, viz., greater insistence and equipment being accorded to the secondary school and to collegiate education. Undue stress, if viewed from the angle of the total population, has been placed upon the secondary education with the result that practically every parent desires to have his son attend a secondary school although the fees are much higher (annual fees in primary schools averaging approximately Rs. 1.0.0 (33¢) while in the secondary schools it amounts to approximately Rs. 15.0.0 ($5.00),[2] And the Christian community has followed suit, largely under the emphasis on the western culture that was laid by the missionaries. There was every reason for its continuance for the offices under Government offered positions to young men who could handle sufficient English to care for the matters of the department. Further the lucrative positions in schools were open to those who could teach English and many of the young men of the Christian

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1. The India Year Book, 1923, p. 450
2. Quinquennial Report, 1912-7, p. 108 and 87

community found opportunities for themselves outside of the mission employment. This was done at first with serious misgivings as to their safety but gradually with such confidence that the less lucrative mission service was scorned, or at best the outside employment was justified on the basis that with a larger scale they would be able to support the work of the Christian church better than would be possible by accepting the mission employment at the lower wage.

Indeed the English language is the "lingua franca" of South India, enabling one to travel beyond his local district. A picture of this situation is presented in the following excerpt:

> "It is safe to say that the English laguage and what it stands for is the most powerful force acting today in India in the direction of social and national unity.... The English speaking Indian is not a foreigner in any part where English is spoken. One of the novel features of modern Indian life is the frequent holding of Pan-Indian congresses for the discuession of political, social, industrial, religious and other subjects. These assemblies which bring together the most prominent men from all parts of India would be impossible were it not for the common basis provided by the English language.....When we reflect on all this we see that new forces are operating on the people and are breaking down the walls of separating, that diversities of race and language, to say nothing of religions and the caste system, have erected in the past."[1]

And an interesting sidelight on the situation comes in an excerpt from Dr. Slater's work:

> "The extent to which English has already become the language of South India is amazing. One of my earliest

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1. Holderness, T. W.: Peoples and Problems of India, p. 82

> experiences in the city of Madras was to drift into an open air meeting addressed by Indian speakers from the north on behalf of the new Hindu University of Benares. The speeches were in English and a large crowd was listening. One of my last experiences in the same city was to attend a half-yearly meeting of the Triplicane Cooperative Society. I was late and was the only European present but from the beginning all the proceedings had been in English. Madras, a city with but a few more than half a million inhabitants maintains no less than six daily papers. The Mail, Express Hindu, New India, Justice, and Swarajya, published in the English language against one in Tamil, and one in Telegu. Is there another city in the world, let alone another city of only about half a million inhabitants which can maintain six daily newspapers printed in one and the same foreign language? Or to put the question more accurately, can that language be regarded as foreign which the people chiefly use and use by preference in seeking information on the subjects that interest them?[1]

With this impetus given to a capability of which the Christian community is possessed, is it any wonder that a new value has arisen? And in the consciousness of that new value, a sense of oneness with a national group, in which the Christian community may find a commanding place, has arisen. The reading of the daily telegrams and of the opinions that become incorporated in the very lives of the readers becomes a link of national existence that goes a long way to break down the walls of isolation. The existence of certain English papers for the use of the Christian community is justified not on the basis of a separate paper which should convey the news of the world, but only as a vehicle of expression for matters that pertain to the community alone and are of no

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1. Slater, G.: The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, p. 170

interest to the other communities. This is recognised and together members of the various communities seek their daily news from the same paper, feeling a unity in such matters as pertain to the common welfare, or perhaps to a catastrophe such as occurred at Podanur during the Moplah Uprising in November, 1921. Thus the asset of being able to use the English language more flwently than many of the other communities, affords a feeling of achievement that links a once despised community into a comradeship of experience.

But under the influence of modern pedagogical experimnt a new consciousness of dignity and worth has arisen. The Intelligence Tests found their way to the shores of India, carried thither by foreigners who had used their furloughs for equipment for the task they loved in India. When first introduced there was much criticism and certainly it was under great difficulties that the experiments were made. Naturally under conditions which affect the language tests when efforts are made to use even the adapted tests under conditions so foreign to the situations under which they were developed, the initial emphasis was placed upon the performance tests. We would quote at some length from the results of the tests as it has a direct bearing on the consciousness of the Christian community:

> "During the latter part of 1919 the writer took up the subject. A series of tests were made with the Goddard Form Board in some twenty or more schools in the Madras Presidency. More than seven hundred children of ages from four to fourteen were examined and the results tabulated. As it seemed to be worth while to compare not only Indian children with American children of corresponding ages, but also different racial groups of Indian

children with each other, half of the tests were made on Brahman children and half on Panchama children. The term 'Panchama', it should be explained, signifies in South India the very large social group in which are found the very lowest castes. Hindus do not regard them as castes at all in the strict sense of the word but rather as 'outcastes'. It was assumed that, so far as there is any distinct racial cleavage among the native peoples of South India, it would be between the Brahmans and the lowest castes or the outcastes.... ....The choice of the kind of test to be used naturally fell upon one of the series of performance tests described in 'A Scale of Performance Tests', by Pinter and Paterson. The one that seemed to be the most generally useful was the Goddard Form Board. The Binet system was out of the question, since it had not been adapted for use in any of the numerous languages of India.....The Goddard Form Board was chosen as the most practical tests with which to begin the series because it has been so favorably spoken of by eminent psychologists in America. It also seemed to the writer to require the exercise of several kinds of mental ability. Not one of the more than seven hundred boys and girls tested had ever seen a form board, it is safe to assert. Few, if any, of them in all probability had ever handled blocks of wood or other material of different shapes, much less tried to fit them into holes of corresponding shapes. To be confronted with a board full of holes and a lot of blocks, and to be told to put the blocks into the holes as quickly as possible, was a new situation for each of those children. Thus it was well adapted to test their intelligence. And at the same time there was nothing unreasonable in the test, so perfectly simple is it.....Aside from the effort to secure an equal number of Brahman and Panchama children as subjects no attempt at selection among the children of the schools where the tests took place was made..... ...Tables are appended showing in detail the results of the tests.....It will be noted that the Panchama are from one to four seconds slower than the Brahmans at most ages. The average difference is about two and one-half seconds. Perhaps this can be accounted for by the great difference in the social and educational opportunities enjoyed by the two groups in the past, and by the difference in their environment, which any one acquainted with conditions in India cannot fail to have observed."[1]

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1. Herrick, D. S.: The Journal of Applied Psychology, September, 1921, p. 253

And examination of the Graph presents some interesting data that the author does not mention: at the age of four years the Panchama child is just one second slower than the Brahman child and is four seconds faster than the American child. At the age of eight years the Panchama child is four seconds faster than the Brahman child but drops behind again between eight and nine years only to lead by one second at the age of twelve years. These are matters of but seconds in a tabulated form but they are matters of moment to the members of a nation wherein the Brahman has been the standard for centuries. And there is much sympathy with the assurance that crept into the consciousness of the outcaste or into the member of the Christian community whose origin had been in the outcaste group, when this rating was brought to light by modern scientific methods. At once the feeling of capabilities rose until he dared to brave more than he had attempted earlier and to face the new national grouping with a greater consciousness of power than had been conceived possible. And in commenting upon this test, it is not our purpose to use the findings of the test as proof, but to point to the results of these tests in the attitude of the members of the Christian community. Needless is it to mention that when compared with the Brahman child whose environment had always been considered more beneficial, the query rose as to an issue of opportunity. And if this could be the finding of the test, the problem of the advance of the member of the community whose origin had been from the outcaste, was defined and thus somewhat simplified. At any rate much more attention was directed toward the

members of this community.

And from the consciousness of the capabilities that the members of the community now possessed in the equipment of English as a working language, and of a mental ability suggested by the findings of the tests, the community dared stand forth and make overtures to the larger national group. Already the approbation of the actions of the braver spirits became more general and encouragement was accorded the more timid to venture forth. Nevertheless the burden of the past inhibitions rest heavily until in a crisis the opportunity for cooperative effort arrived. Had it been necessary to wait until the community had gained confidence to make a direct advance, many years would undoubtedly have passed. But plunged into the arena of a new decade of international thinking and action, it found its place and was given the chance to prove its value in a common situation.

b. The Cooperative Experiences.

The crisis of the World War which brought national lines out more strongly in some areas, forced other people to think in terms of international relationships. And especially is that true within India. She had been regarded by the Britisher as a valuable part of the Great Empire but now India came to regard herself as a factor in that great Empire and when the need came she rose to the occasion and sent her sons to various arenas of the War; she gave of her wealth to meet expenses,

and she shouldered burdens at home that revealed an interest in the Empire and a patriotism that cannot be lost sight of. It was a testing time for a section of her population, the Muslims, who were torn between two loyalties, that of religious allegiance to the Caliph whose political dominion was tied up with Turkey, and that of national patriotism which was linked with the British Empire. And she took her stand with her fellowcountrymen rather than with her co-religionists. Here is a sketch of the contribution India made:

> "At the outbreak of the war the strength of the army in India was: British 76,953; Indian 239,561. The number of Indian ranks recruited during the war up to September 30, 1918, was 1,161,789, of which 757,747, were combatants and the rest non-combatants. The number of officers and men sent on service overseas from India up to September 30, 1918, was:

	British	Indian
To France	18,934	131,496
East Africa	5,405	46,936
Mesopotamia	167,551	588,717
Egypt	19,166	116,159
Gallipoli	60	4,428
Salonica	66	4,938
Aden	7,386	20,243
Persian Gulf	968	29,457

Total 1,172,908 [1]

And while figures have not been obtained to indicate the various communities represented there were many of the Christian community who served in Mesopotamia, largely in the capacity of clerks on the railways, or in the stores departments. Many of the young men who were about ready

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1. Young India, January 1919, p.28

to enter the service of the Christian community saw the opportunity for national service and for adventure and started forth, not seldom without the permission of their managers and even of their parents. Nevertheless theirs was a widening experience and one that meant much for the freedom and liberty of the Christian community. They stepped into places that gave them value in the eyes of their fellowmen and when they proved themselves of realmerit the dredit went not alone to the individuals but to the communities represented.

These young men returned from the scenes of warfare. And well has it been stated:

> "They (the Indians who served on the fronts) came home different men. Fighting shoulder to shoulder beside their allies, men from all over the world, they have a new realisation of the nobility and brotherhood of mankind."[1]

And again:

> "Nursed in war hospitals by the Red Cross nurses of the allied nations, they returned home with a new conception of the possibilities of camaraderie between men and women. Bivouacked in France and Belhium in the country districts and in the cities, they could not fail to observe many of the elements which place European culture and civilization in advance of their own."[2]

And we would add, they could not fail dd observe many of the flaws and defects of a culture that had once seemed to them almost magical in emphasizing the defects of the Indian culture by the contrast it presented. But the fact remains that these young men returned home far different men than they went

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1. Fisher, H. B.: India's Silent Revolution, p. 25
2. Ibid. pl 24

out. And many a village heard tales of adventure and saw through the eyes of the beloved sons of the village new lands and new peoples. And much more might be said of the differences but of one thing there is a certainty - the narrow lines of bigotry were gone for the men of the Christian community as well as for the men of the other communities. A new day had dawned and new fellowships were dreamed of on the basis of trench and train friendships.

It was not only on the arenas of active war service that the patriotic spirit was shown nor that the barriers of inclusion were broken, for Red Cross units were found in the towns scattered throughout South India. Many a Social Service centre where the women of the many communities gathered to continue studies commenced in childhood and prior to their early marriages, or to acquire the more immediate arts of caring for children and for their households, became the centres of these units. Women would bring to these centres the work they had taken home to occupy their spare moments, and with loving hands bind bundles of packages, rolls of tape, and other appliances that would find use upon the hospital ship, "The Madras", the gift of the loving hearts at home for the care of the sons and brothers who were away fighting for the Raj. And a transformation took place among the sisters when members from the Christian community and from other communities could gather about the same table and roll bandages for the boys of India rather than to devote their efforts for this or that particular community's sons in the war. Community interest gave way before a common national interest. And just as certainly were the women who greeted the re-

returned soldiers changed by the crises of the war as were the men. They thought not only in terms of international life, not only in terms of foreign countries, but in terms of Indian womanhood which rose higher and included members of all communities. Sisters clad in the white saris sat beside the sisters in red and yellow checked saris, and now they could and would pass the time of day at the water-tap instead of drawing the corners of their garments closer to avoid all possible defilement.

And as a sign that the old day of seclusion has passed it is interesting to note the attitude of the councils toward the women of the nation:

> "Under the new constitution for India (Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms) the question whether women should exercise the franchise having been left to the provincial legislatures to decide, the legislature of Madras, after a few hours" debate resolved on doing so by a three to one majority."[1]

And further, when in one of the municipal councils the question came of assigning a plot of ground to the Women's Social Service Society, which was organized by the Christian community, but attended by the women of various communities, it was unanimously passed with the note of approval of the benefit that this society was conferring upon the whole community. Also, when later in the same council the provision of establishing a park near the site of this Social Centre was under discussion, the question of management was raised but answered quickly by the suggestion that it be turned

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1. Slater, G.: The Dravidian Element in Indian Culture, p. 137

over to the management of the Social Servide Society to be used for the women of the town. This suggestion was passed by a large majority, the only dissenting voice being raised that provision for the women should scarcely take priority over a provision for a recreational spot for men, - a relic of days of the past not only applicable to India.

Another type of cooperative effort took shape in the appointment of both men and women of the Christian community to serve on the Municipal councils and on the Board of Supervision at the central jails. This brought together representatives of various communities in matters of interest to the whole area and tended to blot out the lines of communal distinction. And one comes from such associations feeling that a day of cosmopolitan friendship and of civic and national ideals has a place in the program of the Christian community. Indeed the community no longer determines to isolate itself but to offer its best to the larger national experience. And we would illustrate this result by a note taken from the Modern Review:

> "Three times, year after year, has communal representation (a privilege accorded tominorities in the award of places and seats in the legislative councils, as made by Lord Meston) been condemned from the presidential chair of the Indian Christian Conference. Though the Indian Christian community is far less numerous than the Moslem community, the former have sufficient faith in God, in their own ability and public spirit, and in their non-Christian countrymen not to want any seats in representative bodies and any appointments in the public services to be reserved for themselves. There is no doubt that their wisdom and charity will be justified by the results."[1]

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1. The Modern Review, February, 1925, p. 255

And this note, taken from the paper that defended itself just the previous month[1] as being not pro-Christian, presents an aspect that is telling in its comment.

The most important feature of cooperative effort is in the National Congress but heretofore the Christian community has taken but little interest apart from some of the braver souls. And yet a most interesting appeal and a statement of the situation is presented in the address delivered at a Christian Teachers' Conference in February, 1923, from which the following excerpts have been taken:

> "I have no desire to inflict upon you a narrative of the progress of this movement (The National Congress) but the part taken by Indian Christians and specially by the teachers is relevant to the matters on which I have been asked to address you. From the outset I am happy to be able to state that two leading Indian Christians, Mr. Kalicharam Banerjee and Mr. Joy Gobind Some, were identified with it.....Now what has been the attitude of the Indian Christian community taken as a whole towards this national movement. At the best, one of indifference and sometimes of active antagonism. It is only stray Indian Christians and these mostly of the lawyer class who attended the sessions of the Congress.. .....There can be no doubt that there were at one time some Indian Christians who had lost touchewith other communities with whose aims and aspirations they had no sympathy. To all intents and purposes they had become denationalised. Happily there are few today against whom this charge can be laid. But the bulk of the educated Christians were the victims of circumstances. They were either Government servants or missionary employes and the fire directed from both these powerful bodies left them hoppless. As a natural consequence the Indian Christian community was reduced to a position of complete isolation. This went onefor over three decades during which time the other communities continued their struggle for the political salvation of the country.....The Indian Christians found that the policy adopted by them was suicidal, and their minds began to be exercised as to how they were to

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1. Vide supra p. 97

> make amends for the past. But.....the most potential cause of their awakening into political consciousness was due to the agitation which is identified with the name of Mr. Ghandi. It was in December, 1920, that a new departure was taken by the All India Christian Conference which passed a resolution committing the Conference to take an active part in all healthy political movements of the country."[1]

And again an excerpt revealing the response of the other communities to this move of the Christian community, and in recognition of the principles at stake:

> "It was one of the fundamental rules of the Congress which was strictly adhered to that the susceptibilities of the various communities and creeds represented therein, never mind if they constituted a small minority, were to be strictly respected. There were some notable instances of this. At one of the sessions of the Congress, Sunday happened to intervene. The delegates were hard pressed for time and were of course anxious to get away as soon as possible. When the question was put by the President as to when the next meeting was to be held, Mr. Gohkale got up and proposed that the next sitting should be on Monday, and it was carried unanimously. The Indian Christians had vindicated their religious principles but within recent years with no representation of Christians in any appreciable number there has been a lapse and Sunday sittings have been held."[2]

Thus the Christian community has found in cooperative activities a new basis that has burst the bounds of the old inclusive policy, and made inevitable new adjustments and the realization of new values. Its life was interpreted in the light of the larger group, whether that was provincial or national, with which it now sought fellowship and from whom it sought recognition. It presents a first touch of a dawn of better relationships, and a first step upon territory which tends tolure to permanent citizenship

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1.Bharat Sevak, March, 1923, p. 3
2. Ibid. p. 4

in a national heritage.

c. Some Mutual Possessions.

Coming from experiences that have knit the communities together there arises a search for common bonds that bind; bonds that are integral and natural rather than formal and artificial. And these possessions may come either in the physical experience or in the realm of the ideal and the religious. But if in the search for these so-termed native experiences mutual treasures are found, the link that binds the two groups together becomes much more lasting, although it may not result immediately in an external organization. And especially is this true when the Christian community recognizes certain disabilities under which it is and has been living. A student states the case concretely thus:

> "In theseedays when the nation is fighting for self-government and everything swadeshi, Christianity as all other non-Indian institutions is looked upon with especial disfavor, inasmuch as this religion is chiefly associated in the Indian mind with 'bureaucrats'. They also fear that an Indian convert to Christianity is lost to the national cause."1

Far from such a depressing view there comes with glowing warmth the following article:

> "To the student of religion, there has hardly been witnessed in the history of the world, a more remarkable phehomenon than the mutual and spontaneous recognition between Christianity and politics on the field of India.

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1. East and West, April, 1925, p. 145

> While this event promises to usher in a new phase in the progress of Christianity in this land, it also heralds the birth of a new feature in the sphere of politics - Indian as well as Universal....India through some recent fortuitous circumstances has been converted into an arena for a gigantic political struggle of an acute character. To its foremost national leaders, led by the saintly Mahatma Ghandi has been revealed through the medium of Christianity a new method for coping with the situation - a method entirely different from any tried in the past either in the East or the West.....This sudden discovery of the Christ as the supreme teacher of mankind by non-Christian India, the spontaneous conflagration of thecontinent from end to end with the fire of Christian truths, the finding of the hidden meaning of the Master's messages, and the faithful application of these seemingly impossible ideas to the grim realities of the political life of the nation-these form an extraordinary chapter in the history of Christianity. But the most surprising part in this renaissance of Christian teaching, primarily brought about by political distress, is the fact that the recognized exponents of Christianity - the missionaries - have had little or no part in the initiation or direction of this vast current of religious thought.[1]

To find under the leadership of Mahatmaji a recognition throughout India of the Christ as an ideal and his reported words as ethical teaching that may be tested by the challenge of the present situation was at first startling, and later the source of enthusiasm. To discover that apart from their own efforts the central figure of their community's existence was claimed by the nationalists as a pattern ideal linked the members of the Christian community to the national ideals with a spirit that trembled and feared. In the first place for the members of the community generally there was a peculiar rebelling aspect that may be attributed to the long period of inhibition with the community itself, for it

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1. Bharat Sevak, April, 1923, pp. 3,4,5.

had always been considered that the Christ was their peculiar possession. They now felt that somehow something had been stolen from them. And further the long periods of isolation made difficult an enthusiastic association with the nationalists who had been scorned or at least but lightly valued by the foreign element of the community. But here was a challenge that they could not disregard. A challenge from within their national boundaries to the noblest ideal they had possessed, aroused within their hearts a feeling of growing sympathy. For the presence of such men among the leaders of the national movement as Ghandi demanded attention when the following facts came to their notice:

> "Mr. Ghandi may be an impractical fanatic but he frankly bases his conduct on the teachings and example of Christ. The children in Mrl Ghandi's orphanage were heard singing, 'In the cross of Christ I glory'. When the hearer asked the reason he was told that this was Mahatma Ghandi's favorite hymn."[1]

While there has appeared a statement in which the fact of Mahatmaji's indebtedness to Christ is denied, there is much evidence to the contrary, and from those who have spoken with him there comes conclusive evidence that he has given much time and thought to the study of the life of Christ and to His teachings. At any rate the challenge came vigorously to the members of the Christian community and there are several of the leadders who have felt its tug and have taken their stand with the nationalists. As a case in point, there is "Mr. K. T. Paul, the chief executive of the Y. M. C. A. in India, though thoroughly sane, moderate, and acceptable

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1. The Indian Witness, March 8, 1922

to Government, frankly calls himself a Nationalist and has taken a bold minority stand against the Christian community's isolating itself from the Nationalistic Movement."[1] And there will undoubtedly be a larger number of the younger men who will follow his lead, declaring themselves as Christians and as Nationalists, and feeling that their greatest contribution to the Motherland will lie in the contribution of the culture and the heritage that has come from the west being interpreted in the light of the Indian history and culture. That the world will be the stronger for the lives and the contributions of these men is no debatable point.

But the fellowship that this common possession engendered went further in many places and found expression in intercommunal dining, a feature that would have startled India a few years ago. It is described as follows:

> "This was the first 'Retreat' of the Bombay International Fellowship when between forty and fifty Hindus, Mohammedans, Christians and Parsees assembled in conference to discuss the implications of brotherhood and still more to live out brotherhood in two days of friendly intercourse and quiet worship together .....But more valuable than the discussions were the times of intimate fellowship in prayer and social intercourse. Here all barriers of race and caste and creed were surmounted. We fed together, played together, prayed together, There was no Hindu, and Mussalman, Parsee and Christiang Indian and European, but one family of God's children. It would have delighted Mahatmaji's heart, as he lay earlier in the year on his couch on that upper verandah, if he could have seen in vision the gathering that would assemble there before the yearwwas out. I am convinced that it is by such experience of actual fellowship, of unity in action, that the mists of under-

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1. The Indian Witness, March 8, 1922

> standing and prejudice will be more quickly cleared away, and a unity which is no mere lip-unity, but heart-unity, achieved."[1]

And it has delighted more than the heart of Mahatmaji to have seen and to have experienced such gatherings for it has meant much more than lip-unity, as has been suggested. It is not alone in Bombay that the International fellowship dinners are held but even in some of the up-country towns has inter-dining occurred at which were present representatives from several communities including these of the Christian community.

As an evidence of the response of the nationalists to the approval attitude in the Christian community has come a letter addressed to Mahatma Ghandi with a fanciful interpretation of the national flag and yet it is interesting in its naive nature:

> "We are grateful to you and other leaders for giving us that great symbol of self-respect, a national flag. Our Swaraj colors are now red, white and green. Various interpretations are given these colours. One popularly accepted is that the red represents Christianity, white Hinduism and green Islam."[2]

And notwithstanding the fanciful aspect of this interpretation there is the interesting feature of at least a popular inclusion of the Christian community within a national unity.

But of more subtle nature is another possession which may mean far more for the nationalistic trend of history within the Christian community. It appears in an article by Mr. M. T. Kennedy, entitled: "Religious Experiences of the Vaishnava and the Christian."

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1. The Modern Review, February, 1925, p. 257, initialed C. F. A.
2. The Modern Review, January, 1925, p. 126

"The religious experience of the Vaishnava is of the same order as the Christian. The note of joy is a true mark of Bhakti, whether Christian or Hindu. It is not by accident that both are rich in a great hymnology. The famous five stages of Bhakti, already mentioned, are all found varied in the language of Christian experience. The santa is the quietism of Christian mysticism. The dasya or servant, attitude has been the natural expression of devotion from St. Paul to our own day. Indeed this aspect of devotion is much more richly illustrated in Christian than in Vaishnava devotion, because Christ made it fundamental for us, while in the Vaishnava scale, it is subsidiary. The sakhya stage, expressing devotion in terms of friendship is familiar enough with us....The batsalya or fourth stage expressing devotion in the terms of parent and child relationship, natural enough in Christian thought, is of course absolutely central in Christian worship....The mystic experience is deep set in both. And that experience is largely of the same order: that is, it conceives of Reality as personal and of the quest along lines of ever closer personal relations."[1]

Now what interests us is the fact of seeking a parallelism between the two great communities in their expressions of the inner thoughts of life, itself, and not the truth of the parallel drawn. The fact remains as of tremendous importance that the Christian community is reaching out and finding responses in the Indian grouping from which for so long they were separated.

This reaching out beyond its small circle, which came upon the community partially in the consciousness of certain capabilities which had acquired value in the total environment, partially in the inevitable cooperative endeavours in which the War and other lines of development

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1. The Modern Review, January, 1925, p. 71

had plunged the communities, and partially in the recognition of mutual possessions, has created a sense of larger unity which is desirable, and of a recognition and a response that answer the elemental thirst of the once integrated community, which found itself torn by the discoveries of some of the braver spirits that transgressed the barriers that the Christian society in the period of its isolation, had set up. There remains the task of making permanent this experience of Indian unity; true nationalism.

2. The Assimilation of the Indian Cultural Elements by the Christian Community.

> "Obligations exist to religion, to parents, to family, to caste, to village, often also to the raj. Such a thing as individual right is really almost absent and every privilege which in the West would be claimed on the individual basis is in India conceived of in terms of the group of which the person concerned is a member. This sense of solidarity of corporate life is a most valuable asset. It is one of the redeeming features of the caste system. It outlasts the breaking of caste, as can be observed in the Indian Muslim.....The European seems incapable of understanding the implicit readiness of the Indian to accept wide responsibilities for relatives of three, four or even more removes. As for me, I cannot understand how my children are more entitled to advantages which my earnings can fetch than are my brothers and sisters and their children. This will keep one always poor, you say. Yes, if poverty is to be reckoned in money. I prefer to invest it in love which shall reach to my children when I can no longer earn or I am cut off early."[1]

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1. Paul, K. T.: How Missions Denationalise, I. R. M. Vol. 8, p. 515

Thus sounds the clarion note fromone of the Christian community who likewise claims to be a nationalist. And while in it one sees the germ of the united family system and its responsibilities, one is led to think of it in terms of the great national family of India. Not one community sufficient unto itself and isolated from all the rest, but bringing its contribution, it claims the right to share with the other communities in the national benefits and inheritances.

And having passed through the experiences and the history of forming and safeguarding itself as a unit on the land of India, the Christian community found itself faced with the yearning for participation in the national life. For it had discovered within its own life, under the crises of forced contacts occasioned by the war and its aftermath, links of common experience that bound it to the national life. And thus in the van of the Christian community there stand today members of the community, the more venturesome souls, who are anxious to adopt the nationalistic ways. This introduces at points a conflict with the established custom of the Christian community not only, but precipitates a conflict with some of the European members of the community. For it oftens appears to them that, to use the words of Dr. Macnicol, "they (the Indians) will garner into their treasury all that is precious in the inheritance of their people with no doubt or misgivings as to its being mingled with poison".[1] This hesitancy on the part of the foreign members is not always a matter

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11 Macnicol, N.: Young Men of India, March, 1925, p. 134

of lack of vision or even of lack of confidence but frequently it is a case of too much vision and too keen an insight into the trend of such wholesale adoption, a trend that brought forth a warning sounded in the National Missionary Intelligencer of December, 1922, under the title of "Two Dangers for the Church facing Indian Nationalism", by Brenton T. Bailey.[1]

There have been several incidents however that have given an indication of the trend of affairs and these are of value if we are to understand the forces that are at work in making truly "of Indian genius", the expression of the Christian community. While it is neither possible to make an exhaustive list of these features, or to cover the entire range of such instances, a few have been selected from various aspects of life to give some idea of the general trend of affairs. And naturally it will be recognized that this is not necessarily a sharp break from the custom or the peculiar practice of the Christian community for often there remained the germ of the old national life amid much of the drapery of the occidental. In such cases it becomes a matter of emphasis and attention. At other points there is but the thin edge of the wedge being forced in and the indications are but slightly evident. However their presence denotes a direction and that some progress has been made. And these features will be considered under various groupings, taking as it were a cross-section of the community life of the Christian group and noting the many ele-

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1. The National Missionary Intelligencer - December, 1922, p. 191

ments of the Indian culture that have been adopted.

a. Ceremonies.

The place of the ceremony in Indian life cannot be over-estimated, for from the old Hindu heritage it receives a sanctity scarcely realized by those who nurture has been more democratic. While it is true that within the Christian community the place of ceremony has been far less important than in the Hindu home, there are several that receive attention and that, in recent years, are being observed in a more truly Indian style.

The ceremony connected with the naming of the child finds a definite place in the Hindu, the Muslim, and the Christian home. In the latter, especially among those who contacts with the other communities were slight, the ceremony of baptism which was performed in the church, completed the rite. Occasionally there followed a general feast at the home, more generally in the better class of homes. But in late years, in those homes where the acquaintance with the Hindu customs afforded a background, a custom has arisen of pouring sweets (candies) over the head of the babe, significant of the blessings that were to be its lot in life. This ceremony parallels that observed in the Hindu homes. And in a simple way the children from the homes tell of parallel experiences, in the one instance the official ceremony of naming the child being performed by a priest while in the other by the pastor of the church. And there is established a common background rather than an early sense of being dif-

ferent because of having been Born in different communities.

A second ceremony concerns the marriage rite. This in the Christian community is always a church affair followed by a reception at the home of the bride's parents. In this respect it differs from the official rite of the Hindu home for the priest comes to the house of the bride and directs the ceremonies that last several days. And while there are those of the community that would incorporate the practices of a western wedding ceremony with the retinue of attendants, the veil, the orange blossoms, the music, and even the ring ceremony, the general consensus of opinion favors the type of wedding that is predominantly Indian. A very pretty wedding of this sort took place recently and drew much favorable comment:

> "The groom was a graduate of an American University. He had returned to India with many honors. He was very fond of expressing his enthusiasm in ways that frequently startled the Christian community, both Indian and foreign. He selected as bride a daughter of a Government employe and while there were no affluent circumstances, the match was considered favorably on all sides. He insisted upon a very simple church service, the nave of the church being decorated with palms but extremely simple in appearance, and insteadof using a ring, tied the 'thalie'[1] about his bride's neck. A simple reception followed to which were invited Christian and non-Christian friends. The refreshments were Indian in every respect."

It was a wedding in which all the swaggering pompt that might have attended one who could boast of an American degree, gave way to a pleasing simplicity

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1. The "thalie" is a pendant, usually of gold or silver, and often jeweled, hung, in the earlier days on a cord which was tied about the neck of the bride by the groom at the official ceremony of marriage. In later years a gold chain replaces the string.

that was beautiful to behold.

Another feature occurs in connection with the betrothal ceremonies and deserves attention. In many localities at the time of the betrothal there is a prayer meeting, followed by a peculiar function. It is an entertainment of the crowd that partakes of a sort of buffoon character. Very embarrassing questions are asked of the groom as to the presents which he has brought to be presented to the bride-to-be. Its origin is not known. But in recent times this practice is being superseded by a custom more Indian or at least more in keeping with the marriages of the Hindus. There is marked reticence on all matters relating to the bride-to-be and any presents that are made to her by the groom. But the party assembled is entertained by a musical troupe, the same procedure that is followed in the Hindu homes, separated of course from undesirable elements that sometimes creep into bridal musicals. This is by far a healthier trend and very encouraging to note.

The e is another feature, however, whose bearing is by no means so healthy and encouraging. It is the financial side of the marriage arrangement. In fact, the members of the Christian families are often plunged deeply into debt to provide the dowry that is required by the prospective son-in-law's parents. And this is almost a parallel to the practice in the Hindu homes. But there is much to be desired in this matter and it is hoped that an example of thrift may be set by the leaders, following even the lead of some of the nationalists who have refused dowries altogether. When the leaders of the Christian community at the

time of marriage plunge into debts that equal practically a year's salary, there is a perpetuation of a custom that might better become extinct. But the transition into this change will be gradual for it will come along with a nationalistic change as the dowry system still prevails and is rigidly observed in the majority of cases notwithstanding the recognition of its burdens. Social standing has been attached to it and until public opinion can be fashioned to approve of the non-dowry basis there is slight chance of notable changes.

There is another side to the Indianization of the Christian community that in this connection deserves passing notice. The old system of the parental selection of the bride, or of the bridegroom as the case may be, still holds sway in the Christian community but more strongly, being almost invéolable in the Hindu community. But under the influence of the western culture and because of the travel and association with the westerners, instances are becoming more frequent of the arrangement of a marriage by the young people concerned. It is a most radical step but the younger generation is asserting itself and demanding that the marriage tie shall bind those that can be congenial, regardless of ulterior considerations. And many of the young men and women whose education has been in institutions where the missionary influence has been exerted and where there have been progressive Christian young people, are making this insistent request of their parents, both in the Christian and the non-Christian homes.[1]

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1. The Indian Social Reformer, June 13, 1925, p. 648

A further indirect effect is the question of the plight of Hindu widows that has come to the foreground of social readjustments. The presence of thousands of girls not yet ten years of age doomed by the customs of the land to the burden of widowhood, (interpreted as a punishment for some gross sin that caused the death of their husbands), has stirred the hearts of the sons and daughters of the Motherland to a searching of the past, and to a demand to fashion the present to more humane practices. Such references as these encourage the heart of every lover of India:

> "The Bombay Presidency Social Reform Association will celebrate the Anniversary of the passing of the Widow Remarriage Act."[1]

> "Countrymen! how long will you suffer yourselves to be led away by illusions? Open your eyes for once and see that India, once the land of virtue, is being overflooded with the stream of adultery and infanticide.....When led away by the impulse of passion, they (the widows) violate the vow of widowhood, you are willing to connive at their conduct. Losing all sense of Honour and religion, and from apprehensions of mere exposure in society, you are willing to help in the work of infanticide. But you are not willing to follow the dictates of your Shastras to give them in marriage again, and thus to relieve them from their intolerable sufferings, and yourselves from miseries, crimes and vices."[2]

And they reveal that the lovers of India are keenly alive to one of the most vital questions affecting the future generations of India's sons and daughters. This social effort is not due entirely to the influence of the Christian community but in various ways has the insistence of western

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1. The Indian Social Reformer, July 25, 1925, p. 738
2. Ibid, p. 739

culture and western standards opened the question of marital relationships and the Christian community can lay claim to being one of the channels through which the western influence has come.

b. Festivals.

In a land such as India where the religious and social life are wrapped up in the festivals it would be tragic to eliminate these festive activities. Such a divorce, however, wasnatural when the isolation of the Christian group was considered absolutely essential for its integrity. But soon it was recognised that this need was not being met in any way and the members of the community realized a vacuum in their lives. This led to the institution of certain festivals patterned after the Hindu life which had been so closely connected with pilgrimages to sacred spots along river banks where there would be a mass assembly. And further there developed a desire for the adoption of nationalistic festivals or at least of the national features of the festivals separating them from the appendages that had grown in connection with the Hindu communities. All of these are interesting and suggestive of fruitful research, but only a few can be treated and these will be presented as indicative of larger trends in the Christian community.

The Harvest season has always been a period of rejoicing, and the natural expression of such rejoicing takes the form of a festival. In the Hindu life it occurs at the Pongal season when the new grain is first boiled

and new pots are used. This for the Hindu community is a period of visits and gatherings. The Christian community plans its festivals to fit in not only with the season but also with the occupational activities of its members. In some localities the beginning of the hot season is chosen as at that time the work is about finished and more time is available in the case of the villagers whose occupation is coolie labor on the fields of the landholders.

In the light of the moon gather the villagers from a radius of fifteen or twenty miles, bringing with them their offerings. And indeed a motley crowd it is, coming along the river bank, across the sandy bed of the river, and along the roadway to a spot near the junction of two large rivers. The picturesque bullock cart bulging with pots and bundles, accompanied by the members of the family, creaks its way along the winding road. Perhaps, there is a sheep tied behind or a basket of chickens tied to the top. And at last when it is unloaded there are taken out the stores for the three days of the festival and amid the greetings of friends and the shouts of parents calling to their children, a spot is picked out as the family's camping ground.

But soon there is the drum beat calling the company to assemble beneath some large canopy of canvas or perhaps more acceptably under one of the large trees. While there are services and addresses, the function that attracts the greatest attention is the auction. The various articles that have been contributed are now auctioned off, the proceeds going to

make the contribution of this group of villagers to the Church.

The evening is usually given over to a dramatic presentation of some Biblical story, greatly enlarged by interludes of buffoonery, giving often a most wierd aspect to the once sacred story, at least to the foreigner but apparently immensely enjoyed by the villagers. At other times there are lantern pictures and lectures of a somewhat more educational type but very popular in style. After three days this company returns to the homes with a feeling of satisfaction at having enjoyed what for them was both a religious and a social function.

Christmas morning there gather at the Church service the members arrayed in new garments. These new garments form in most cases the present that is associated with the western idea of Christmas, at least in many minds, and thus there is assured practically every member of the community a new outfit for this occasion. It is very interesting that this custom of a new outfit, in the Hindu community, takes place also at the beginning of the cold season. Among the bazaar men dealing in cloth and garments these two days are marked as the days of rich harvest for on one or other of these days the most of the people will come to make a purchase, regardless of any advances in price that may occur.

A step further is seen in the trend that promises to assimilate the national heritages within the Christian group and its festivities. From several quarters the question has been raised regarding the Depavali festival, inquiring whether it might easily be included in the list of

Christian festive days. On this point the Literary Digest reprinted in the Indian Witness makes the following note:

> "All over India the Dipavali feast is kept at the beginning of the cold weather. It is a commemoration of the victory of Vishnu over a certain demon, and is symbolical of the triumph of light over darkness. The word means "a row of lamps(and every house is illuminated; even the poorest boasts its single flickering lamp, while cheefful boys let off squibs and crackers in the streets. The fact that the feast is connected with a Hindu legend (quite possibly the legend was invented to explain the already existing feast) need not deter Christian people from celebrating it as the triumph of light over darkness, knowledge over ignorance, truth over error, using the same symbol of a lighted lamp."[1]

And why should not the Christian community have its festivals giving to the old observances new interpretations as has occurred with many of the festivals connected with occidental life?

Another feature that perhaps is a corollary of the Indianizing process is the exchange of Christmas cards between friends, both of the Christian and the non-Christian communities. While at first it seem rather incongruous that non-Christians should be sending Christmas cards, the goodwill that was thereby expressed made plain that the feeling of friendship was not a possession of the Christian community alone. Consequently the sending of cards has become a custom that is approved by both communities. So too will the Indian heritages become a part of the Christian community and be adopted in part or in whole inas far as the elements can be rationalized without too great a jar to the sensibilities of the members

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1. The Indian Witness, March 7, 1923, p. 180

of the Christian community.

c. Musical Features.

It was but natural when one thinks of the origin of the Christian community that the music connected with the life of the community should be carefully guarded. For certainly there is no more subtle avenue of approach to an individual than through the musical enjoyment and appreciation. And for this reason the opinion expressed in the following quotation does not represent an isolated situation:

> "In 1917, no earlier than that, an Englishman who had been principal of a first grade mission college for nearly ten years asked in open council if it were not true that Indian music is inseparable from its association with evil living. Of the very few things which are really common to the whole of India, to all its provinces, races, and sects, to Moslem and Hindu, to the educated and illiterate, one is music. In the waterlogged villages of Eastern Bengal, the sand-driven hamlets of the Punjab, the parched and caked-up fields of the Maharashtra and the cocoanut groves of Tamil land, the same Indian music I have personally witnessed to be the natural key to joy and devotion to God. In all our languages there has come down a rich heritage of poetry, lyric and drama, to which this music is set.
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> The tragedy is not that Indian music is tabooed as heathen from church services but that to Indian Christians its place in national life is absolutely unknown and its possible effect on morals truly feared; so far has isolation gone in its thoroughness."[1]

As hav been noted[2], the church music grew around hymns that were treasured by the foreign members of the Christian community and these were

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1. How Missions Denationalize - I.R.M. Vol. viii, p. 512, K. T. Paul
2. Vide supra, p. 34

translated into the vernaculars. The next step was the writing of certain songs which were set to Indian music and which lend themselves to the use of three Indian musical instruments, the drum, the cymbals, and the violin, a combination frequently termed the "bajana". And for many, the "lyrics" as the later type of Christian music is called, sound right only when played by the bajana. But the pathetic feature lies in the years that have been lost forever)

> "It was a Pariah who composed many hundreds of years ago the sacred Kural of the Tamil country. Its influence is extraordinary and the lessons it inculcates are profound. For literary excellence nothing else in the south can compare with it."[1]

And yet practically nothing has been done to incorporate this great treasure into the Christian community. Not that there have been no souls that have reached across the barriers and found the satisfaction that the great soul of the past expressed in the "Kural", but the rank and file of the group are ignorant of its value and naturally without that glow that comes from the knowledge of the attainment of one of the outcaste community.

There is arising in the church services a great insistence upon the bajana and upon the lyrics, often dividing the musical numbers with the organ and the more occidental hymns. But assuredly it is a field, the fringe of which has just been touched and promising tremendous wealth for the national group.

Closely allied to this newer stress upon the more Indian

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1. Datta, S. K.: The Desire of India, p. 257

expression of music is the greater insistence upon a type of preaching that is akin to the old ballads of the past, wherein the stories of the heroes were told by mendicant musicians. It is the Kalachapam, or lyrical preaching in which certain features of the Christian heritage are portrayed in song, filling a place in human experience similar to that which is filled by the drama of the religious type. And the "Bhagavatar" as the lyrical preacher is called, links up with the ancient Bhagavata religion of devotion which found its keynote in the element of Bhakti, or devotion to a deity. This links the lyrical preacher to a religious past that means much in the new nationalistic aspect for while parallels may be drawn in the occidental life, the oriental interpretation takes precedence, "At a time when there is such a lot of awakening everywhere and there must be some sort of a new spirit even in the public presentation of the Gospel to non-Christians".[1]

That there are these trends makes most interesting the type of work that has been carried on by Mr. Popley of Madras, whose approach to the non-Christian is indeed most acceptable. Through his influence and in response to the desire of the more nationalistic aspirations of the Christian community courses in Indian music are being offered in schools. It means the dawning of a new day when the Indian Christian community shall

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1. The Christian Patriot, June 9, 1923

have found its Indian heritage and shall have become one with the national family.

d. Other Aspects.

The Christian community has realized that it must make its approaches to the non-Christian communities more Indian if it is to become one with them. The slight point of contact is therefore developed and out of it grows an organization that is capable of being understood and appreciated by both communities. And one young man in searching for satisfaction for his own life felt the lure of the Ashram and sought to develop the idea into a point of contact with his friends, non-Christians. He thus describes his efforts:

> "The desire has been to develop a genuine Christian fellowship in the heart of the town with a view to leaven the whole town with the spirit of Christ. --------has opportunities for this kind of work. Though at first the men of the town seemed indifferent and reserved they are slowly beginning to understand and are drawing nearer to the men in the Ashram. At present most of the educated young men in the town visit the Ashram and often engage in conversation about Christ and His kingdom. The hall in the house, which is called 'God's Durbar' is decorated with pictures of national leaders and Christ. The Durbar is filled with young men in the afternoon. Some of them play indoor games, some read papers while others converse on religious subjects.
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> The members of the Ashram thus have ample opportunity for helping the young men in their personal problems and also in bringing the influence of Christ to the Ashram with quiet ideas about Christ and His Kingdom, have now learned to admire Him and are studying about Him."[1]

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1. John, A.: Report of the Evangelistic Council, A. A. M. 1925

And certainly such lines of approach have an excellence that cannot be denied in the effect they have upon the Christian community in its desire for a larger share in the national activities. But just as truly is there an effect in the bridging of the hiatus that separates the Hindu community from the community that once left its protection for that of association with kindly foreigners.

Closely linked with this idea of the Ashram is the abandonment of certain of the Christian community to the life of a sannyasi,[2] an element that has always rated high in the Indian scale of values. The saffron robe, the kempt hair, the clean face, and the bright eye win approval from both the man in the street and the more sophisticated man of cultural experience. He shares with the non-Christian sannyasi the ready welcome and is permitted to pass through the crowds. His robe, platted with bright red crosses, attracts attention. And he is recognized as a Christian sannyasi or sadhu for whom men of all communities feel a sort of regard. Prominent in the influence that has been wielded by this sort of life, stands Sadhu Sundar Singh, whose appearances in England and in America gave a new interpretation to the holy man of the East. He has been portrayed thus by his biographers:

> "The manner of his teaching, even more than its substance, has a peculiar freshness for a Western hearer, with its picturesque abundance of illustration and parable, often quaint but always apt, its unstudied

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1. Sannyasi is an ascetic of the mendicant order, wandering about the cities, receiving doles of money and food, and accompanying pilgrims to the various shrines at festive seasons.

> spontaneity, its gleams of kindly humor. It is rendered doubly effective by an arresting appearance: the impression of the turbaned head and saffron robe harmonizing in some subtle way with the deep tranquillity of a countenance lighted up by loving-kindness and with a vivacity of expression and occasionally of gesture which somehow seems not to conflict with, but to express the Peace of God within."[1]

And if he is respected by the westerner who meets him, he is loved and adored by the Indian folk for in him they feel is typified the indwelling presence of the Divine.

Out of this general interest there has come a definite Sadhu Mission organized by the local Christians of Madras. Its claims are put forth thus:

> "Our method of work is marvellously simple and extraordinarily inexpensive, and a hundred times more effective than what the ordinary foreign and Indian missionary organizations are able to do. The reason will be apparent when a study is made of our methods which are thoroly indigenous to our country.....The Sadhu missionaries of Dhasarpuram Mutt, spend four days in the week in instructing the youths who are dedicated to God's work by their parents and sent to us for education and training. Two days are spent in outdoor evangelism spending on an average six hours in the village; and every hut in the village is supplied with pamphlets which will lead them on to further inquiry, to seek the word of God or to seek a Guru who would lead them on to Christ and thus bring them under our influence."[2]

And this notice appears in another place in the same issue:

> "About twelve earnest workers will be initiated into the Order of Sadhus to form a body of Sadhu missionaries to

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1. The Sadhu - Streeter and Appasamy, p. viii

2. The Christian Patriot, June 7, 1924

> conduct the Sadhu mission of evangelism and prayer with headquarters at Dhasarpuram, Thinnanur."[1]

Thus there exists today a definite movement to use the office of Sadhu long revered in India for the proclamation of the Christian message and young men have signified their willingness to give themselves to this attractive form of ministry unto their own fellow-countrymen.

Another feature that is arresting the attention of the Christian youth is the matter of dress. For years there have appeared young men wearing the apparel of the westerner and claiming that it was more comfortable and as economical as the dhoti and shirt. But the desire for incorporation into the national life and perhaps the desire to avoid endoutward expression of the westerner's influence in the Christian community has led many a Christian youth, graduating from the college to don the typical Indian garb; the white dhoti, the shirt buttoning over the shoulder and the angavastaram thrown around his shoulders or wrapped about his waist. He has thrown aside the topee that but a few years ago he asserted he needed as a protection from the sun of his native land, and goes about using either the turban or perhaps nothing at all. And assuredly he is far more picturesque and impressive clad in the costume of his native land and one with his compatriots than appearing in a dress, which he had the right to wear for its right is not limited to race or creed, but which gave him a foreign appearance and a feeling of distance from his fellowcountrymen.

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1. The Christian Patriot, June 7, 1924

And likewise have the sandals and bare feet taken the place of the socks and shoes of a few years ago. Certainly much more comfortable and agreeable to the customs of the country where the shoe is removed upon entering the home of a friend. And certainly more sanitary in the frequent bathing that becomes necessary.

An interesting incident focuses much of the Indianization process as viewed from the angle of assimilation:

> "Forty years ago, the European missionaries started a crusade against the kudimi[1] and ordered all native Christians to have their heads clean shaved. They would not listen to reason, however sound, or any arguments, however cogent, from the lips of the Natives and it was only when one of their own number, the late Bishop Caldwell, published his pamphlet on the kudimi and showed them the error of their ways that this senseless war ceased.' Such are the strong words in which Mr. E. Muthiah Pillai, Palamcottah, the father of Mr. Justice M. D. Devadoss, referred to this romantic controversy in a pamphlet written in 1896, dealing with an episcopal decree prohibiting the use of caste titles in the publication of banns in churches and prescribing the form and the design of the thali. In spite of the lapse of almost thirty years since the publicationof this very memorable attack the kudimi figures again and again and is seen as a very disturbing element in South Indian Tamil Christianity.....The simple solution of this insoluble problem, to employ a paradox, is to reduce the kudimi to as small a size as is consistent with the claims of Hindu as well as Christian orthodox formula. Splendid instances of the accommodation on the subtle principles advocated herein can be seen everywhere in Tamil Christianity....To a gentleman who still have the temerity to wave this pitiful object (the long flowing topknot) a sister from the west sent the quotation from Paul, wherein hs says, for what reason we have not been able to understand, that it is a shame for a man to wear long hair. This friend disputed its applicability

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1. The Kudimi is a term applied to top-knot worn for the purpose of certain ceremonies. It has become a style of hair dress.

> to his case and still wears it as a protest against the vandalism that would destroy the beauties and art treasures of the past."[1]

And in the words, "splendid instances of accommodation on the subtle principles advocated herein can be seen everywhere in Tamil Christianity", one finds the substance of assimilation.

Closely related to the whole question of appearance is the attitude that should be taken to Khaddar, the coarse homespun that has become a symbol of swadeshi activity. The cloth has been adopted by the non-cooperators and has indeed become a badge of non-cooperation. For that reason many who would otherwise have accepted it for patriotic reasons have held back. But the objection of non-cooperation has been quieted in certain circles sufficiently to allow an article advocating the use of khaddar for wearing apparel suitable for churches, for weddings, for the cassocks, gowns and surplices, altar cloth, vestments, for offerings presented by the members of the congregation as fruits of their handiwork, and for clothing for the girls attending the boarding schools for they could be taught to weave their own garments.[2] And the reason underlying this change of viewpoint is primarily the desire to be one of the national group, and to show their loyalty by adopting the insignia of the nationalist.

Another feature that has been stirring the attention of the Indian Christians, but has not yet been put into actual demonstration, is

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1. Editorial, The Christian Patriot, April 18, 1925.
2. The Christian Patriot, February 21, 1925

the type of church building. As has been pointed out[1], the church architecture has been that transplanted from the west and the churches today are the replica of similar structures in Europe. But now several articles have appeared in the papers presenting arguments for and against the incorporation of this or that feature of Hindu architecture in the Christian Temple[2]. To quote from an article by an Indian architect who has come forward with a definite proposal:

> "Although the idea of a Christian temple in purely Indian thought and style had sprung up now in the minds of our brethren, owing to the change of time; it seems to me that the western form or plan for a place of worship is still predominating in our taste and thought as we were used to it ever since we have become Christians. We have not as yet conceived and developed a form or plan of a purely Indian (type) in thought and ideals for a place of worship. However the appearance of the design both interior and exterior would be depicted in as purely an Indian structure as possible.....I have gathered details from the Mantapams and Vimanahs or towers over the Garba-griha (central house of the Deity) of Hindu temples.....When you design and build your church, do it according to the locality, surroundingsand tenor of the peoples at large around you with a view to bring them all to the feet of the Master and into the Kingdom of God. Supposing you wish to build a church at Vaniambody or Hyderabad, then I say build it in the Saracenic style; at Trivellore, in the Dravidian style; at Mysore in the Chalukyan stule; at Palestine in the Byzantine style; at Cornwell in the Norman style; and at Aberdeen in the Gothic style. Let the people of the locality know that the church is built for them in the style of their land and to call it their own temple or church and to enter its doors to meet God's presence without hesitation and reluctance."[3]

This is but one of the present indications of the forceful spirit that has gripped the Indian Christian community to express itself in terms that are

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1. Vide supra, pp. 34,36
2. The Christian Patriot, March, 17, 1923, May 5, 1923, June 23, 1923
3. Ibid, March 24, 1923

understood by the communities about them. That fact achieved there results the true Indianization or the incorporation of the life within the national life, allowing the blood of past ages to flow through the channels cut by the culture and influences of the west.

The Indian Christian community has established a history for itself. Rising amid obstacles and persecutions it became a community that established itself in the land of its birth. It has struggled to express itself in terms that can be understood by those communities living about it. And this expression of its experiences and its life has presented a twofold feature: the community itself has been reaching forth and claiming the Indian heritage that is its right and then it has been expressing itself in these inheritances blending them with its western inheritances. The second feature is the incorporation of the Christian community in the whole national life of India as a participator in the national experiences. The latter comes as a recognition of the real national interest that is developed in the Community and as a reward of the real Indianization of its thought and customs. Both of these processes are in operation and together they form the nationalization of the Indianization of the Christian community. The position that has been maintained is that this is a process that is being effected in the community today, justifying the existence of the Christian community at the present and giving rich promise of larger national service in the days that are to be. The attainments of the Christian community are those which bear lessons and inheritances that can be

utilized to advantage in the formation of the Indian nation but only when the heart of the Christian community is wholly committed to its national obligation. This contribution is one that is unique and an important share of nation building falls upon the members of the Christian community who have the courage to assume the burdens of a patriotic endeavor for the sake of Christ and the Motherland. Out of the experiences of the community in its growth and achievement of recognition among the other communities, and out of the autonomy that is accorded it in the transfer of authority to it in administrative and ecclesiastical lines, there stands a living factor of India's national life capable to exert a determining influence in national policies. And her sons and daughters are determined to advance into their birthright as Indian nationalists.

CHAPTER VI

THE SERVICE OF THE INDIANIZED CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

The Christian community stands in a unique position in India. "In India but not of India" has been the taunt of the nationalist as he turned to the Christian community and viewed it from the angle of the age-long culture that has sought to sweep within its train all blends of religious experience. But in answer the Christian nationalist replied: "In India and for India". And this response comes from the heart that has loved, has wandered, and has again loved more intensely the Mother that gave it life.

With the pulse beat of a heart, devoted to the Motherland the Christian community is growing into national consciousness step by step. The process of Indianization is progressing. In the early stages the community saw the necessity of such an appropriation of the heritages of the land of its birth that it might live, not only in harmony with the other communities, but in an atmosphere that was its very own. And the effort to express itself in terms that were current in the Indian society, flooded the life of the community with customs and practices that quickened a soul that had felt constrained to conform to foreign rites and proprieties. There seemed to burst forth into new vigor a spirit that had been smouldering and the Christian community felt that it was one with the communities that formed the great national life. Emphasis was far more

insistently laid upon the prerogatives of the community as Indian. The foreign aspects that had seemed so essential during the stages of unifying the community were quietly but firmly relegated to the background. And with boldness the Christian community proclaimed itself as becoming truly Indian in heart and action.

The readiness with which this advance was met by the non-Christian communities seemed to justify the step and common factors were discovered between the communities. This realization of a common nationality became the basis of common experiences, first between individuals but later between the communities. And with this experience came the privilege of participation in the national activities, whereby it was possible for the Christian community to demonstrate its zeal and interest in national progress. It saw the opportunity of becoming a contributing member of the Indian family, with a sense of gratitude that it was deemed worthy to share in the great enterprise. For the non-Christian communities extended a welcome to the leaders of the Christian community with feelings of approval and joy in the strengthened forces of nationalism, and yet mingled with an apprehension of the community lest its presence should shackle the efforts toward swaraj and compromise the position of the ardent nationalists.

The cooperation of the Christian community will depend very largely upon the vitalized experiences that it has to contribute. With the wealth of a western heritage interpreted in indigenous terms that can be understood, and incorporated in the national life, the Christian

community today stands in a position to bring to the altar of national life a unique offering. The effects of its Indianization touch national life and reach beyond to link India to the nations of the world. The religious experience, that it has had, brings an offering of a quickened spirit keenly alive to the personal as well as the national questions of the hour in the Motherland. The cultural experience, drawn from the Occident and the Orient, bears a message of vigorous achievement in cooperative national and social enterprises that reach beyond to a horizon of international recognition and participation. And when endowment and need meet, as they do in the reincorporation of these communities, the avenues of service appear clearly marked. And service is the path whereby the Indianized Christian community is becoming an equal partner with the other communities in the great national enterprise of creating a nation upon the soil of the Motherland.

a. The Avenue of Religious Service.

> "Men are great when they embody movements. Their greatness usually consists, not so much in instituting movements, as in summing up, becoming the personalized centre of a movement latent in many minds. Mahatma Ghandi has such a tremendous influence because he is the meeting place for two movements or ideals - one the Christian ideal of service and the other the Hindu ideal of asceticism. Both progressive and orthodox could rally round him because each saw in him the ideal that appealed to him.

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1. The Christian Patriot, December 22, 1923

And what is true of the greatness of a man who unites the ideals of two great aspirations, is equally true of the greatness of a community. In so far as the Christian community can become the meeting place of the Indian heritage with its contemplative moods, and of the more assertive vitalizing factor of another culture it becomes the focus of new loyalties for those who seek nationalism as well as for those who look beyond into the realm of internationalism. But in the achievement of that end may it not draw lessons from another of India's great men, Dr. Tagore, who "sums up in a peculiarly great and noble way two dominant desires in the mind of thinking Indians - the resolution to remain Indian and the desire to be receptive to all life - Indianism and Universality - India and the world?" But of him a bit more:

> "Many Indians have been hesitant or hostile concerning the outside world of thought and life lest they lose the Indian heritage. They have been afraid of opening the windows of life to the outside world lest the spirit of India be lost. But Rabindranath Tagore is not thus afraid. He is an Indian. The blood of the past flows in his veins, you can feel this in his rising up and sitting down, in his gestures, in his temper of mind, in his demeanour and outlook. If there ever was a real Indian he is one. But planted thus firmly on his Indian soil he is not afraid to lift his antenna to the heavens and catch the music of the spheres and hemispheres. A plant not well rooted may be withered by the sun, but firmly rooted it can use the sun's rays for its own purposes and growth. India's poet is firmly rooted and is using the sun of outside learning and light to bring to blossom and bloom the flowers of his poetry. In Shantinekan - (the Ashram of Dr. Tagore) Dr. Tagore intended to provide "a home for the spirit of India". Here he wanted India to be quite sure of herself. He knew that Indians are only creative as they are Indians, otherwise they are echoes not voices, copyists not creators.....In Shantinekan where "the spirit of the

> universe and the soul of man unite to build up a temple of worship" there is nevertheless what may be called scientific frankness, an open-eyed candour. Now, an Ashram is the last place on earth you would expect to find that - and especially the Ashram of a religious poet. But it is a fact nevertheless, I saw little or nothing of the weird, the extravagant, the merely emotional. There were no extravagant claims for India, and for her life and thought, but simple frank appraisal - the Indian spirit living out its life unafraid and wholesome."[1]

And here in the life of Dr. Tagore are suggested the very lines along which the Christian community is finding herself. Coming as it does with the heritage of the non-Indian Christianity into a new appreciation of the Indian inheritances, it approaches the task of Indian life with "the broad mind which only because it is conscious of its own vigorous individuality, is not afraid of accepting truth from all sources"[2], and can frankly say: "We must use our social strength, not to guard ourselves against the touch of others, considering it contamination, but generously to extend hospitality to the world, taking all its risks however numerous and grave."[3]

The peculiar history of the community gives to it a unique vantage point. It needs to pause to consider its message as a Christian community. And in the words of one, a man born in America, but who has learned to love India with a warmth and a devotion that has won a place in the hearts of Christian and non-Christian alike, there is put the crux of the issue:

"There is a good deal of misunderstanding as to what constitutes

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1. Jones, E. Stanley: The Birth of a New India as Seen in Rabindranath Tagore, The Christian Patriot, December 22, 1923
2. The Way to Unity, The Leader, August 13, 1923
3. Ibid.

the aim and motive of foreign missions; (and from what may be understood from the position of Indian leaders in the Church, the foreign personnel in the indigenous church is still an asset) and there never was a time when we needed more to clarify the issue. We are told that we are "international meddlers', that we are creedmongers to the East, that we are the religious aspect of imperialism, that we are the forerunners of capitalism, that we represent a great hunger to see an ecclesiasticism prevail around the world. (And from his intimate association with the foreign Christian, the Indian Christian has been open to the charge of abetting the foreigner). There never was a better time to face the problem and to face it squarely; and under the closest scrutiny to tell what we are after, what we are trying to produce, just what we are trying to give .....When I first went to India I was trying to hold a very long line, one that reached clear from Genesis to Revelation, and on to Western Civilization and the Christian Church.....Then I saw that I could shorten my line, that I could refuse to know anything before the non-Christian world save Jesus Christ and Him crucified, to take my stand there and make Him the sum total of the aim and the motive of my message. Then it seemed that the way was cleared, that missionaries were not sent to make converts into pale copies of the West, but were there to respect anything that was fine in their civilisation contributing to their struggle upward toward God. We were not there to wipe out that struggle but to give them a person - that person Christ. We were to ask them to interpret Him through their own national genius and history and to express Him in a living firsthand and real way.....Some time ago, in thinking this matter over, I tried to compare what the different religious systems tried to produce, what the aim and end of the whole progress has been. Here was Greece; Greece said: "Be moderate; know thyself; Confucianism says: "Be superior, correct thyself'; Buddhism says: 'Be disillusioned, annihilate thyself'; Hinduism says: 'Be separated, merge thyself'; Mohammedanism says: 'Be submissive, bend thyself'; Shintoism says: 'Be loyal, suppress thyself'; Judaism says: 'Be holy, conform thyself'; modern materialism says: 'Be industrious, enjoy thyself'; modern dillettantism says: 'Be broad, cultivate thyself'; Christianity says: 'Be Christlike, give thyself'.....

Greece said there were three things that caught her attention in in worship, the good, the beautiful, and the true. That sums up the finest thinking of the West. The East brooding over these ame problems, has come to the conclusion that there are three other ways out, namely, the gyana marga, the bhakti marga,

> and the karma marga.....Jesus is standing midway between the East and the West - 'I am the Way, the Truth, and the Life'.1

Such is the reasoning of one who for the past years has given himself to addressing non-Christian audiences throughout India and everywhere has been received with enthusiasm. There is found there the strain of common thirst - the issue clearly defined in terms that present to the Indian mind the long cherished goal of Bhakti. Bhakti is defined as 'a devotional faith as a means of salvation, as opposed to the Karma - marga, the pathway of works. The doctrine of Bhakti is the foundation of modern Vishnuite Hinduism and is professed by at least 150 millions of the inhabitants of India.....As a religious term, Bhakti is defined as 'an affection fixed upon the Lord', but the word, affection, itself is further defined as that particular affection that arises after a knowledge of the attributes of the Adorable One"[2]. And thus the Christian community finds itself in the position of defining the search of the Hindu community by directing the attention upon the Christ toward whom India is looking "with an increasing attitude of cordiality".[3] The way lies open to the very heart of India and the Christian community may have a share in the quest of a satisfying life through its presentation of the person of the Christ as the goal of Bhakti. For "in a country so concerned with religion as India, there have been numerous protests against the servitude of the many to superstition

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1.Jones, E. Stanley: The Aim and Motive of Foreign Missions, Report of the Foreign Missions Conference, Washington, p.p. 52-54
2. E.R. E. Vol. ii. p. 539
3. The Christian Patriot, August 16, 1924, And editorial

and of the few to intellectualism. The very influential Bhakti school protests strongly against the dominance of intellectualism in religion."[1]

And in this very challenging situation is presented a unique opportunity:

> "The soul of India has always been more responsive to religion than to anything else, and interest in religion is without doubt the supreme interest in India today. There are no matters which are more keenly discussed or secure a larger hearing than those affecting religion. The activities of the Brahmo and Arya Samajes, the Ramakrishna missions, the Theosophical Society, and of all other movements which gather round the cry for a Reformed Hinduism, and constitute what is called the revival of Hinduism, are all theoutcome of that Christian ministry which is here regarded as the true mission of Christianity to India (a portrayal of which may be gathered from the following words:
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> > "The standpoint of Evangelism, unlike that of proselytism recognizes the value of the law of heredity in the religious development of the race. From that standpoint we are able to perceive that the evangelization of India is a far greater and grander task than the mere proselytizing of Hindus. There is a distinct type of religious thought and life of India which God has been evolving through the centuries and this must be saved both for India and for the world.....It must not be supposed that from the standpoint of Evangelism everything Indian is seen flushed with the roseate hue of healthy life and that it is concerned with the preservation of the often grotesque forms through which the religious evolution of the soul of India has passed, and in which it is today manifested. That would be to mistake the shadow for the substance, to regard the transitory as the real. We are no more concerned with Eastern than with Western Forms and formulas. We need to concentrate our gaze on the nature or

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1. Streeter and Appasamy; The Sadhu, p. 182

> type of religious life which is the result of the age-long process of religious evolution through which India has passed."[1]

> There is not one of these movements which does not reveal to the eye that can see the influence of this wider Christian ministry."[2]

To energize the movements that have gathered as a result of the search for a vitalized life is a challenge to all lovers of India, and certainly in that number the Christian community has a right to count itself. That the challenge of this task is being considered by some of the Christian community becomes evident in the Christo-Samaj Retreat which was held at Ennore, just out of Madras, on the 27th and 28th of January, 1923. Among other features in the report appear these words:

> "At Ranchi, Indian Christian leadership and the Indian expression of Christianity were emphasised. Indian leadership should be in the apostolic line from Buddha who made the renunciation and of Mahatma Ghandi. The Western conception of leadership was somewhat different, not insisting upon such a thoroughgoing renunciation. In Jesus we found the inspiration and meaning of our life, and He is the Leader who lived in the heart of India. The Indian expression of Christianity was a necessity but it was not only an outward expression but an inner spirit of appreciation and life in the heart of historic India - the great Mother."[3]

What results may follow the thoughtful and earnest facing of a fellowship basis for inter-communal participation in national issues, years alone can indicate. But one would sometimes dare to venture a surmise that the organization in which the Indianized Christian community and the non-Christian communities will find their fellowship will be a type of samaj at whose

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1. Lucas, B.: Our Task in India, pp. 27-28
2. Ibid. p. 56
3. The Christian Patriot, February 5, 1923

centre is the person of the Christ. Personal devotion, or Bhakti, is a common type of experience and thus it forms a basis for advance in that cooperative search for the life that the Indian genius will find satisfying. To the interpretation of this devotion comes the community experience of the outcastes who, stirred by the message presented by the foreigners[1] found life and recognition in union with that group, and later rose to a place of respect in the eyes of their countrymen. The inheritance of the Bhagavat literature that has played so prominent a role in Hinduism will make its essential contribution. And the creative spirit of true national life unfolds as an expression of the soul that again lives in vitalized cooperative endeavours of two communities again united, in a common quest.

As a natural corollary to this trend of religious quest, the question as to the future relationship between Christianity and Hinduism engages the attention of those who have received benefits from both religions, both Christians and Hindus. And it is with a feeling of strange pleasure we read the Christmas Greeting, published by The Christian Patriot.

"The Joy of Christo-Javanti.

"The salutations of the sacred morn to all our readers. Joy and peace be multiplied unto them. The Divine Messenger said unto them: 'Fear not; for, behold I bring you good tidings

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1.Bishop Whitehead: The Village Gods of South India, p. 140,154

of great joy, which shall be to all people. For unto you is born this day in the city of David, a Savior, which is Christ the Lord'. Unto the one far-off Divine Birth in the past in the obscure but once royal seat of David we look and looking with the gaze of the mystic, do we see the Divine Child, lying in the feeding trought of the lowing cattle? It is said in ancient Indian legend that the devas went to the Lord in the supernal regions where He sits enthroned amidst His musicians, poets, and bhaktas, and requested Him to come down to the world for the destruction of the wicked asuras, and for the preservation of dharam and the rites of renunciation. Even so during the ages of the world's saddening life the rishis of India, the wise men of Greece, the prophets of the Lord in Judea, all wentto the mystic throne and besought Him to come for the final illumination. And men's hearts like those of the saints in ancient Israel, began to grow weary for looking unto Him who was to come. They, in their wisdom, born of the pomp and vanity of the world, went to Jerusalem, and Athens; to Benares and Ramaswaran. But, lo, the Child, the Wonder of the ages, the Lotus with a thousand petals, was born in the dark lake of human misery and misfortune. Out of the yagna of human sorrow and the perpetual sacrifice in the Divine Heart was born the Light of the World. Except in the world of the devas where the mystery was sung among the hosts of His purified dasas, no one heard the music of the Incarnation, Not so. For did not Mary the mother of the Lord sing the Magnificat and the gopalas hear the Gloria in Excelsis and Simon the aged Rishi sing Nunc Dimittis? If likewise within our hearts on this holy day the Divine Music is heard amidst the darkness and desolation of life's sorrows and even sins, then verily He is born again. The arunodayam, the Day Star, of hope has dawned in our hearts and may it grow more and more unto the shining day. The namaskars and salaams of the Day to all that hold the Incarnate Child in their hearts."[1]

It represents an effort to express the great joy of the Christmas-tide in terms familiar to the Hindu, and to share with the non-Christian communities the central fact of the Christian heritage. While "educated Hindus regard the missionary progaganda as an unjustifiable attack on the national genius and spirit",[2] andeffort such as this would be regarded with

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1. The Christian Patriot, December 22, 1925
2. Farquhar, J. N.: The Crown of Hinduism, p. 33

appreciation, as significant of a genuine desire to share its best with the national communities.

There rises the issue of the blending of the two heritages, the Hindu and the Christian. Which of the two great religious experiences shall form the background of the cooperative enterprise? As an indication of the trend of thought on the matter, there are at hand two important documents, surprisingly in agreement, notwithstanding the fact that the former is by one who describes himself as "not a professing Christian though I cannot sufficiently acknowledge my spiritual debt to the life and teaching of Jesus"[1], and the second by perhaps one of the foremost of India's sons, a Christian nationalist, and secretary of the Y. M. C. A. in India. Mr. K. Natarajan, in his address on "The Future of Christian Missions", says:

> "To a Hindu like myself, the great defect of Protestant Christianity is the absence of a metaphysical background to it. Hinduism has this in ample measure, but the picture does not stand in sufficient relief. Hinduism is the great blue sky in which the sun, moon, the stars, the comets, and the clouds have each their proper place and time. Many good Hindus have painted the figure of Christ prominently upon this background and they find that it suits it quite well."[2]

Mr. K. T. Paul says:

> "It is only a question of time for Indian Christianity to arrive at its own.....The Indian Christian is realizing more clearly almost every day that he is an Indian, with all the honour, the privilege, and the resources that it means, as well as its limitations and responsibilities.....We had a most significant action of responding to the best (the Hindu to the ideal upheld and the Christian to the fact of its being upheld) when Mahatma Ghandi held up Jesus Christ and when India stood staggered by the incidents of his trial and imprisonment. So widespread is a knowledge of Jesus Christ, of the salient features of His life, and teachings and so acceptable is the Spirit of His personality to the mind and heart of India, that the Mahatma's appeals found a ready response everywhere; and when he was arrested and convicted the thoughts of everyone turned naturally to the re-

1. The Indian Witness, July 25, 1925
2. Ibid

jection and sacrifice in Jerusalem 1900 years ago."[1]

There is further accord in the positions toward evangelism and proselytism, toward conversion and mass movements. In all of these features the interesting fact is the effort that is being made to set the figure of the Christ central against a background of Hindu, and that means Indian culture.

There is considerable interest in an editorial, "Will Hinduism Swallow up Christianity?", that occurred in The Christian Patriot. In selected passages the substance of the article is:

> "In the opinion of some anxious Christians it is not at all improbable that Christianity will in the long run be swallowed up by Hinduism, if the process of what is called Indianization is carried to its logical climax. The basis of this apprehension must be sought in the following among other considerations:
>
> a. Hinduism is a strange and undefinable religious monster with an omnivorous appetite.
>
> b. It is feared that the process of Indianization will result in so much of Hinduism being absorbed by Christianity that the latter will lose its distinctive features.
>
> c. The affirmation of contacts and minimizing of antagonisms will sooner or later lead to the extinction of Christianity.
>
> The answers given are these:
>
> a. Our conception of Christianity does not tremble at the prospect for it is the dynamic of God unto salvation and not a mere theory or ecclesiastical invention or man-made system of doctrines of

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1. The Young Men of India, January, 1925.

churches and councils.

b. Christianity has emerged from the Greek and Roman contacts, the better and stronger.

c. The fear that Christianity will be swallowed up and digested is an unmanly sceptisism and is a sign that we really do not believe in the divine origin of our salvation."[1]

And further in another editorial:

"To us Indian Christians the future of Hinduism must be as important and fraught with as serious consequences to the religious destiny of our land as to the Hindus themselves. Unlike many earnest but misguided leaders of the Christian movement in India we regard the existence of a sturdy Hinduism bereft of its excrescences as necessary even for the real growth and development of Christianity. Hinduism we have always regarded as the rich and fruitful soil on which the Word of God should be sown. Otherwise you have no soil and even no atmosphere. The oft-repeated assertion that a bad Hindu is best material for the making of a good Christian, is absolutely false. Rather we should say that a good Hindu, like the poet Narayan Vaman Tilak will make a more splendid Christian Bhakta. It is in this spirit of not only religious comradeship but of recognition of the indispensableness of our rich inheritance that we rejoice to see the revivals within Hinduism".[2]

It is thus with a confidence that the Indianized Christian community comes to its national obligation ready to offer its best treasure and with no misgivings that the person of the Christ will not flourish on the Indian soil and in the culture of India. Further examination of opportunities for service in the avenue of religious experience would prove interesting but sufficient has been given to indicate the type of service that the cooperative enterprise of a reincorporated community will afford.

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1. The Christian Patriot, December 13, 1924,
2. Ibid. April 5, 1924

b. The Avenue of National Service.

"A friend was telling me last evening that when in Egypt he asked a gentleman who he was. Quick came the reply: "I am an Egyptian.' Not as in India: 'I am a Brahman.' 'I am a Muslim', etc. Why will ye quarrel one with the other?..... ....Ye are all mine, says the Mother. Ye are all Hindus + sons and daughters of Hindustan.....Renan rightly said: 'To have a common glory in the past, a common will in the present, to have done great things together, to desire to do still greater - these are the essential conditions for being a People.' Yes - and to do great things together is the function of nationality."[1]

And indeed a true saying, for

"The Swaraj that is to be can never be a Hindu, Mussalman or Christian Swaraj but an Indian Swaraj in which Indian Christians will certainly have their legitimate share. The time has come for us to cast off suspicion (that because the British Government is Christian, the Indian Christians will have no share in the move for Swaraj) and boldly work in such political lines as commend themselves to our reason for the welfare of India."[2]

There is no dodging of the issue and when the bitter medicine of omission of the names of Indian Christians from the list of birthday honors came, like a true patriot who has faced the causes therefor, the editor of The Christian Patriot made this appeal to his follow-religionists:

"One useful lesson must be learnt from this yearly and half-yearly tale of disappointment to Indian Christian aspirants. In this world ninety-nine percent of men expect a reward for their work in the shape of money, fame, or titles, the last being the invention of monarchical governments. As we are not favoured with any of these decorations we must now go to the general public and satisfy them by our service in a popular

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1. The Christian Patriot, November 8, 1924
2. Ibid, April 28, 1923

> cause. There is no doubt that the Indian public are ever ready to honor a public servant in the real sense with their approbation."[1]

Thus comes the challenge from the insistence of the nationalist movement and from the circumstances that surround the Christian community to find for itself a place within the public attention through unquestioned service and loyalty to the cause of the nation. And we would refer to an article that appeared in November, 1923, entitled, "The Responsibility of Christian Citizenship in India":

> "The deeper psychological changes which have come to prevail in the last two or three years all seem to have contributed to a steady improvement of our relationships with all communities. With the progressive transfer of responsibility to popular control, and the consequent increase in the direct effect of the personal equation in many lines, the future has every promise of a fair field for deserving merit.....It behooves us then to turn our attention with earnestness to discern our particular responsibility as Christian citizens of India."[2]

The field of service is varied and opportunities throng one another to give scope for each type of temperament to find a place of service. But perhaps the key to the situation lies in the no uncertain tone in which India is speaking to the world:

> "We are standing today at the threshold of the greatest period in the history of missions; I say it is the greatest because India speaks and in no unmistakable terms, to the nations of the world. In what way is she speaking? What indeed, is her message? Why is it that a single figure, slim and

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1. The Christian Patriot, June 7, 1924
2. Ibid. November, 1923

> slender, whom some have called the pocket edition of a full grown man, that great individual known as Ghandi, is having the largest following today that any one man has ever had in human history during his own lifetime? What has made him the most compelling personality of the day? Why is it that so much is being said and written about his greatness and his influence? Is it not because that day which missions have longed for, has come, namely the day for India to interpret Christianity to the world? A century or more ago the good Christians of western lands sent out to foreign countries their beloved sons and daughters. Those who returned to their homes from India brought back the message that the people of India possessed a soul, that they had as their heritage a spiritual genius that when the right time came India would interpret the teachings and the principles of Christ as no other nation has yet been able to do..... Is not Ghandi's most uncompromising attempt to live Christ's way of life a challenge to the unrelenting application of His principles by the West?[1]

And here is the ready approach to national cooperation for the idol of the people has taken the very text of the Christian community and flung it to the nation and to the world with unwavering courage. Can the Christian community stand back now, and let this wave of nationalism pass by ungripped and unowned? If it does the golden opportunity of united service is removed years and perhaps for all time. But when accepted, there opens the avenue of service in the removal of untouchability, a cause to which Ghandi has bound himself by vow.[2] Likewise in the issue of non-violence as heralded by this wonderful leader of India's march toward recognition in nationhood, there is the bugle note to join ranks and remain there until the goal is attained.[3]

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1. Jesudason, J. J.: Movements toward Christ in India, Report of the Foreign Missions Conference, p. 79
2. Ibid, p. 83
3. Ibid. p. 80

Other opportunities in social service are manifold and it is sufficient to name a few of the openings to which the members of the Christian community are invited, that out of their dual heritage there may be a saving of time and effort, a levying of powers and interests not present in like degree in other communities. Mr. S. Srinivasa Iyenger, Advocate General of Madras in speaking on the subject of "How can Christians and non-Christians cooperate in the social reform of the country" before the Bangalore Conference, suggests three fields:

a. Female education in which missions and the Christian community have shown themselves vitally interested and already in the van-guard;

b. work among the Depressed Classes, a type of work for which the Christian community with its peculiar interest and its individual history is particularly fitted; and

c. interest in national movements, a feature that has already been recognized by the leaders of the community as the "sine qua non" of reincorporation in the national life.[1] Other phases of activity that suggest themselves are the Social Service Leagues that are springing into existence all over the Province; the temperance movements that are engaging the attention of the nationalists, though started often from an entirely different motive, viz., the discomforture of Government on the score of revenue; and in the cooperative credit societies of organizing the villages and local communities into bodies capable of securing the benefits of

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1. The Christian Patriot, June 2, 1923

consorted action supplemented by the loans from Government.

Assuredly the field is wide and there is no limit to the amount of service that can be rendered if the heart of the Christian community pulsates to the national throbbing life. Identification with the nation's best is the reward. And a consciousness of having achieved the real essence of being Indian in every sense of the word, is the community's guarantee of its own integrity.

c. The Avenue to International Service.

Just as the emphasis of the birth heritage creates the question of national loyalty for the member of the Christian community in India, so the cultural and religious inheritances present the responsibility for an international vision. As a loyal son of India, the Indian Christian looks with pride upon the advance of the Indian people to nationhood and to the full expression of her genius in her own domain, and within the Empire to the status of a Dominion. But as the loyal son of India, whose eye has been trained to larger circles of contact, he looks across the seas and the continents to his co-religionists, not with a view to a pan-Christianity against the rest of the communities of India or against the rest of the faiths, but to a participation for his nation in the great family of nations. Nor could it be otherwise. The recipient of two lines of culture and of two streams of contact, the Indian Christian community becomes the vehicle of

intercultural play. Or perhaps one might speak of the Christian community as the bridge over which the Indian nation passes to express itself more completely to the rest of the world, and this is very true in the missionary circle where the contacts of returned missionaries and Indian delegates to Conferences enter the face to face relationships, and thus the people of India are visualized by the western nations. But just as truly does the Christian community become the bridge for the passage of western commodities in culture and thought into India. It is the possessor of the language that the foreign nations speak, as it were, for not only does the Christian community rank very high in English literacy but the familiarity it has with the customs and the attitudes of the foreigners becomes a factor in interpreting the one community to the other.

And herein lies a unique position for "if the most outstanding cause of Japan's greatness may be found in the training her sons have received in the west, especially in the United States; and if it is an open question whether ten westerners employed in Japan or one Japanese who has been in the west and then settled in his own country has done more to push Japan forward"[1] then a community such as the Christian community residing in the land of its birth can do far more to convey the message and to interpret the western culture than could the crop of foreigners of each missionary generation, or traders, or diplomats. And assuredly it is an

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1. Rutnam, S. C. K.: An Oriental Study of Foreign Missions, p. 56

enviable point of vantage but one fraught with grave burdens, lest a trust be betrayed to either party.

One interesting result of that attitude is shown in this incident:

> "The leading social thinker of India said to me before I left India, 'Mr. Jones, Western civilization was never at a lower ebb in our estimation but your missionaries never stood higher. You come not to exploit us but to serve us.' This man put his finger on the touchstone of the future."[1]

Service is welcomed and for that reason the vehicle through which the spirit of service enters, in this case the Christian community, rises in the good-will of those benefited. But therein lies a problem that engages the best effort and consecration for its solution, President Coolidge said:

> "Wherever it (Christianity) has been carried and made a force in the affairs of men, it has wrought for their good. But we must recognise also that it added greatly to the complexity of human life and problems. Its encouragement to education, to knowledge, to scientific advancement, has created new forces in the world....It has truly converted this planet into a brotherhood of races and nationalities, interdependent in a thousand ways, tending more and more to develop a common culture, a common thought, and purpose toward the great business of living. The problems which in this new order of life present themselves will not be solved except through a greater and constantly greater projection of the spirit of neighborship and cooperation, which is the true basis of the Christian code."[2]

Furthermore the literature of all the world is open to the people of all the world, and the works of men of renown are attracting considerable attention. For instance the book of Mr. G. Y. Chitnis of Manchester College

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1. Jones, E. Stanley: The Aim and Motive of Foreign Missions, Report of the Foreign Mission Conference, p. 56
2. President Coolidge: The Address of Welcome, Report of the Foreign Missions Conference, p. 5

Oxford, criticising Dr. Albert Schweitzer's "The Quest of the Historical Jesus", has drawn forth two comments in columns that are not avowedly pro-Christian.[1] It reveals the fact that there is a common ground sufficiently vast to allow for paper comments on such a subject, although theoretically but a very small number would be interested. The interest must be far greater and broader than one would imagine. Or to glance at a list of some of the subjects that appear in a social paper, presents an interesting guage of public interest:

" a. Christ and Christianity - I. S. R. June 6, 1925
b. Christianity and Hinduism - I.S. R. April 18, 1925
c. Christianity and Pantheism, I. S. R. April 25, 1925
d. Why should I love my neighbor? I. S. R. May 16, 1925
e. Towards the Understanding of Jesus p I. S. R. May 16, 1925
f. The world task of the Christian Church - I.S.R. June 27 1925 "

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And the list might be lengthened considerably. It is but an evidence that the Christian community becomes the interpreter of this literature to the people of India. It has this task assigned to it whether it desires it or not. And the capitalisation of the task for the national and international life of the Motherland is no unworthy goad of service.

Behind the Christian community there is the mighty factor of the missionary organisation whose forces have been aligned on the side of inter-racial and intercultural associations[2], and as such there is an additional

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1. The Indian Social Reformer
2. Mott, J. R.: New Forces Released by Cooperation, Report of the Foreign Missions Conference, p. 209

feature of weight that attaches itself to the Christian community in being the interpreter of the Indian conditions to the outside world. The missionaries naturally see more of the conditions and of the aspirations of India through the eyes of the Christians and as they see they will report to the lands whose contributions aid in the evangelism of India. The Christian community thus becomes the instrument of vision whereby detail and scope are seen and from whose results conclusions are drawn. The cooperation of these bodies "is essential to enable the Christian church to give her true testimony. What is this true testimony of witness? We answer, the absolute and unique ability of Jesus Christ and His church to meet the deepest needs presented by the international and interracial situation."[1]

The Christian community finds itself plunged in the rapidly moving national life and faced with the avenues of service whereby it can make more real and more effective the process of Indianization with which it is vitally concerned. It realizes that in the losing of its own specific objective in the service of the land of its birth it attains to its goal in the most natural and most effective way. Indianization is recognized as no static condition but as a progressive achievement unfolding more fully as the relationships with the other national communities become more intimate and the sense of national integrity takes the place of communal solidarity. Thus for the Indianized Christian community the watchword

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1.Mott, J. R.: New Forces Released by Cooperation, Report of the Foreign Missions Conference, p. 209

is: "In India, for India, and India to the world", ringing in stirring answer to the once uttered taunt of the lover of the Motherland: "In India but not of India".

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